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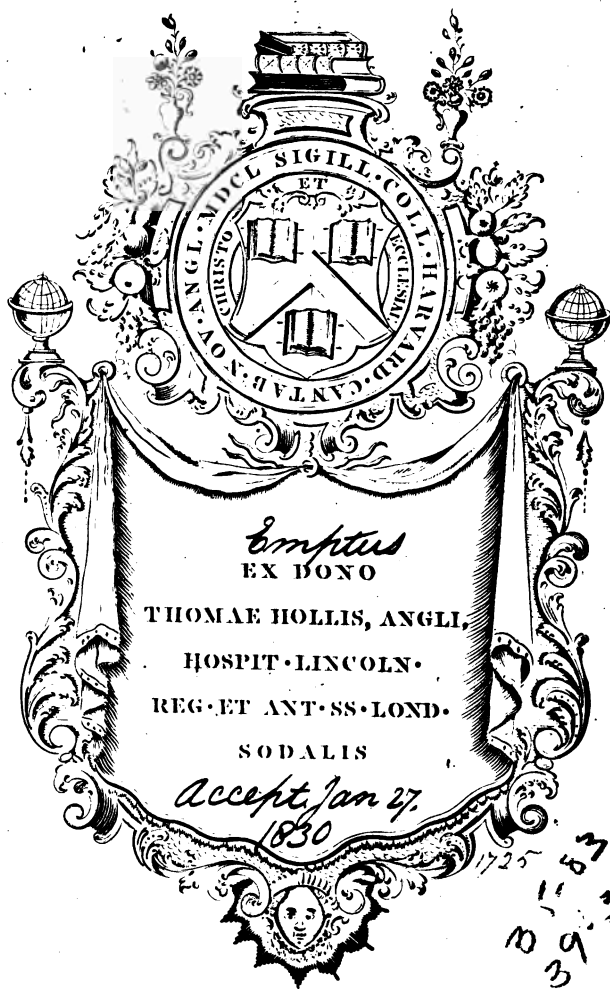
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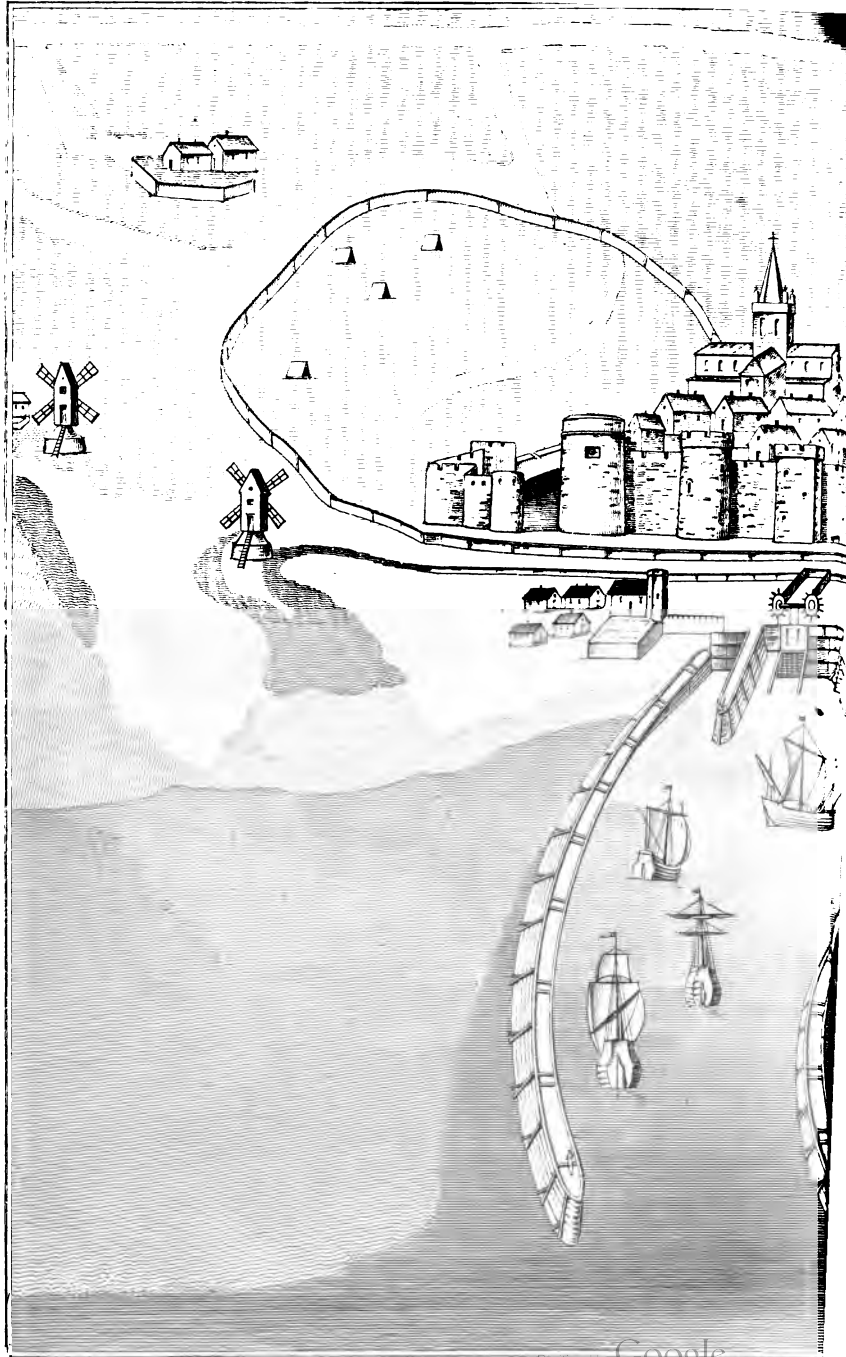
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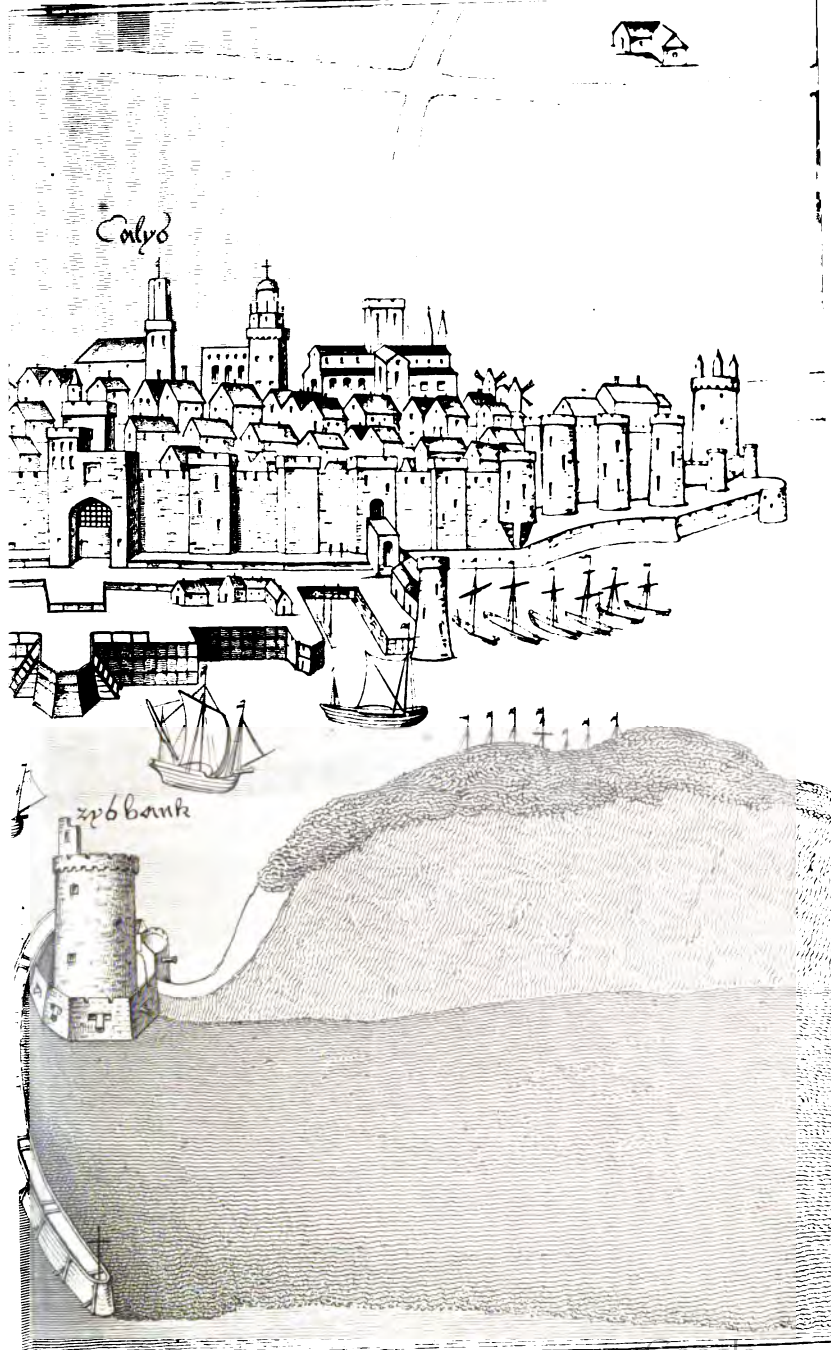
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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY;

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

HENRY ELLIS, F. R. S. SEC. S. A.

KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

SECOND SERIES.

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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

LETTER XCVI.

Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester to Cardinal Wolsey, in answer to some Inquiries concerning Calais and its fortifications.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. FAUSTINA E. VII. fol. 121. Orig.]

* * Calais was in the hands of the English for two hundred and ten years. It was taken by King Edward the Third after a siege of eleven months in 1347, and replanted with Inhabitants chiefly from Kent. The English surrendered it to the Duke of Guize in 1557, after a siege of only eight days. The Spaniards held it from 1596 to 1598.

With the surrender of it in 1557 the long-cherished hope of recovering the English dominions in France became extinguished: and how sensible Queen Mary was of this may be gathered from her dying words. If her breast were opened, the word "CALAIS" would be found engraven on her heart.

It is remarkable that Michele, the Venetian ambassador, in his Memoir to the Senate upon his return from England, of which the Reader will know more hereafter, should say, in 1557, the very year in which Calais was retaken, that it was generally considered as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it might be surrounded; but that there were persons skilled in fortification, who doubted that it would prove so if put to the test.

Queen Elizabeth made several attempts to recover the possession of Calais^a; her original Commission to Sir Thomas Smith to demand it in 1567, is still preserved in the Cottonian Library:^b and it was at one time pressed as a stipulation when the marriage was proposed between the Queen and the Duc d'Anjou.

Although, after its conquest, Calais was entirely repeopled with what the Record calls "*purs Anglois*," still the new Settlement was governed by the laws of the Inhabitants whom they had dispossessed. A priest and two antient men well acquainted with the ordinances and usages being alone allowed to remain in the Town,^c for the purpose of giving the necessary information to the stranger colonists.^d

Maud countess of Artois had granted a charter to it, creating a Community, consisting of "bailliffs, eskewys, and cornemans," and this Flemish constitution was not altered till the 50th of Edw. III^d. when the Burgesses presented a Petition to the King and Council in Parliament, praying that they might have a Mayor and Twelve Aldermen, with power to elect their Mayor from amongst the Aldermen "*comme ils font en la Cite de Londres*." Many other privileges were solicited by the same instrument, most of which were granted or confirmed by the King;^e and Calais became thenceforth organized as an English corporation. Many local customs, however, were retained; and except so far as related to the descent of real estates, the common law of England does not appear to have been introduced.

The Staple of Wool was fixed at Calais by King Edward the Third in 1362.

The expences of the Garrison of this place were extremely heavy, at least in the earlier period of the English possession. Sir Richard L'Escrop, in his address to both Houses at the opening of the Parliament of the 2^d Ric. II. states that the annual expenditure of the Crown for the defence of Calais and the Marches, exceeded 24,000*l*. The request of an Aid for the purpose of defraying these charges was embodied as a matter of course in the King's speech at the opening of each new Parliament; and Commines informs us that the "Captainship" of Calais was one of the best places in Christendom. The "wages," however, both of the commander and of the garrison were very frequently in arrear; and the complaints of the misgovernment of this important Fortress are repeated, Parliament after Parliament.

In 1522, when Albany's second expedition to Scotland was made a cause of war with France, the attention of Henry the Eighth was called to the state of Calais, the fortifications of which during the earlier years

^a See Camd. Ann. Eliz. pp. 98, 99, 100.

^b Calig. E. vi. foll. 1, 2.

^c The old inhabitants went principally to St. Omers.

^d Rot. Parl. 50 Edw. III. 358, 359.

^e Froissart, vol. i. p. 147.

of his reign had gone neglected. It was probably about this time, or soon after, that the Letter here commented upon was written. Bishop Fox died at an advanced period of life Sept. 24th, 1528, having been blind for nearly ten years. The signature only to this Letter is in his own hand.

The Cottonian Manuscript Calig. E. II. fol. 98. contains the return from the Commissioners who are mentioned in bishop Fox's Letter, after they had examined Calais; dated in the month of August. They speak of the decay of the Works, and of the neglect of the Ordinances of the Place; assuring Wolsey that they had "found the Town and Marches far out of order; and so far, that it would grieve and pity the heart of any good and true Englishman."^a

It was not at this time only that Henry the Eighth turned his attention to the strengthening of Calais. In the 24th year of his reign he visited the place and formed what was called "a Device" for the further fortification of the Town and Haven, which, with the Ordinances for the Garrison, is still preserved in the same Volume with Fox's Letter. Fabyan says that Henry the Eighth began other buildings at Calais and Guisnes in 1540.^b

CALAIS, like every other continental Town, retains its original features after a lapse of time, which in England would have obliterated almost every vestige of antiquity. The principal change which it has sustained since the sixteenth century, has been occasioned by the demolition of the Church of St. Nicholas, upon the site of which the Citadel has been erected. The Pier remains precisely as it is represented in a Plan in the Cottonian Library. The Southern bulwarks are yet defended by the identical bastions erected according to the orders given by Henry VIIIth, and which continue unaltered within the rampart which forms the modern fortification; and the key on the north side, not far from Hogarth's Gate, retains the name, certainly not very appropriate, of *Paradise*, which was applied to it as early as the reign of Richard II^d.^c

Within the walls, the Guild Hall of the Staple, afterwards the "Hotel de Guise," exhibits a curious mixture of the well known Tudor style blended with the forms of Flemish architecture,

The Cottonian Manuscript Aug. I. vol. ii. art. 57. contains a "Platt of the Lowe Countrye att Calleys, drawne in October, the 37th. Hen. VIII. by Thomas Pettyt," followed, art. 70. by an enlarged Plat, from which the VIEW of CALAIS given as a *Frontispiece to this Volume* has been copied.

^a The following is the List of English Noblemen who had lands in Calais which had fallen to decay, about or before 1521: "The Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Marques, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Kent, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Darcy, Sir Edward Abrough." MS. Cotton. Faust. E. vii. fol. 24.

^b Chronicles, p. 791.

^c Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. 370.

My verye singular good Lord, after my humblest recommendacion, I have receyved your Lettre sent to me by M. Sands, in the whych it hathe pleased your good Lordship to shewe me, that after dyvers comuncacions had by the kinges Grace wyth hys Counsell uppon thestate & condicion of the Toune & Marches of Calis & other Fortryses within the same, & of theyr ruynes, decayes, mutacyons, and alteracions, fro the auncyent estatuz and ordinances, His Grace for remedye in that behalve, by th'advyse of hys said Counsell, hathe determynd to send thidder, with convenyent diligence, certayne hys Comissioners^a not only to view the saide ruynes & decayes, and theruppon to advertyse hys Grace what reformacions, reparacions, & fortificacions be necessary to be made in that partye; but also substancyally to examyn th'abuses of the sayde auncient ordinancies, & the insufficiencies of the soul-diours, wyth all other thyngs that may sounde to the daungier of the sayd Toune, Marches, & Fortryses. And therof to make relacion & reaport to Hys Grace & hys Counsell for spedye remedye to be provyded for the same. And over thys your good Lordship sheweth to me by your sayde Lettre, that forasmuch as I have at sundry tymes taken travayle in the saide maters, & have knowlege of theme, & that the Kynges Grace is also enformed that I have certayne bokes concernyng

^a They were, Sir William Fytswilliam, Thomas Walsh, John Daker, George Poulet, and Antony Sentleger.

the sayde maters, Hys Grace therfor willeth, that, all other thyngs set apartt, I doo repaire incontynent to Hys Grace, bryngeng wyth me all such Bokes as I have concerneng the premisses.

My very singular good Lord, in my humblest wyse I beseche you that withowt your displeasor I may frely shewe you the trowble that your saide lettres hathe put my mynde in.

Truely my singular good Lord, syns the Kynges Grace lycenced me to remayne in my chyrche & therabowts uppon my cure, Wherin I have be almost by the space of xxx yeres so negligent, that of iiij severall Chathedrall Chyrches that I have successively had, ther be two, *scilicet*, Excestre & Wellys, that I never see; and innumerable sawles wherof I never see the bodyes; and specially sens by hys licence I left the keypyng of hys Privy Seale, & most specially sens my last departyng fro your good Lordship & the Counsell, I have determyned, &, bytwixt God & me, utterly renouncyed the medlyng with wordly^a maters; specially concernyng the werre or any thyng to it apperteigneng (wherof for the many intollerable enormytes that I have seen ensue by the said werre in tyme past, I have noo littell remorse in my conscience,) thynkeng that if I dyd contynuall penance for it all the dayes of my lyfe, though I shuld lyfe xx yeres longar then I may doo, I cowde not yit make sufficient recompense therfor. And nowe my good lord to be called to forti-

^a worldly.

fications of Townes, & places of Werre, or to any mater concerneng the werre, beyng of the age of lxx yeres & above, & lokyng daily to dye, the whych if I dyd beyng in any such medlyng of the werre, I thynk I shuld dye in dispeyr. No marvayll my Lord, the premisses considered, if thys my present vocacion to such maters, trowble not a littell my spiritts. I fere that I shall not by raison therof be in such quyetnes that I shall dar say masse thies next v. or vi. dayes.

And yet my nowne good Lord, I am not unremembred of my deuty towards the Kyng my most drad kynde soveraigne Lord, the soon & successor of the Kyng that was my maker & promotor to the dignytie that I unworthely doo occupye; & to all that I have in erthe; and therfor if Hys Grace call or comaunde me to doo that thyng that may become soo old a preest to doo, verely my Lord to spend my lyve & all my pour substance I shall never refuse it; but by licence of your good Lordship the maters for the whych Hys Grace wolleth me to come to the same, be all of a nother sort, qualitie, & nature, it becommeth me noo thyng nowe to medle, neyther by way of counsell nor faict, wyth municions, or fortificacions of Townes & places of Werr.

Also my Lord I had never comission, charge, nor commaundement, by wryteng or worde, to medle wyth the saide fortificacions, neyther of Calys, Hams, nor Guynes; nor never dyd I medle wyth theme in deed.

Trowthe it is, that byfore the Siege of Boleigne, I

and other, to ryght a good noubre, as ambassadors, met & hade many treaties & comunicacions wyth th'ambassadors of France, some tyme at Boleynge, some tyme at Calya, & somtyme at Sandyngheld; & after all my compaygnye, except Sir John Doon & Sir John Troblevyld,^a were retorned into England, they two and I mette at Boleigne dyverse tymes wyth the lord Quardis: all whych season indured frome abowts mychaelmas to it was abowts Candelmas then next ensueng; and in the moyne tyme, besyds the tymes of the said metyngs, I contynued allwayes at Calais; & durenge that tyme, by the kynges ordynance that ded is, whos saule God pardon, I medled wyth the haven of Calice, & in my mynd brought it to that condicion, that if the scluse that I caused to be made hade not be destroyed by Sir John Turbervyle then thresorier of Calice, it had be nowe a good havyn. And also in the meayne tyme I rode to Hams & Guysnes, to make good chere wyth the capytayns; but farther dyd I never medle in noon of the saide places. And as for the Bokes that it is supposed I shuld have, verely my Lord noon I have, nor never had, nor never see noon, sayng suche as be wont to remaigne in the Counsell House of Calice, and in the handes of th' Officers and the Counsell ther, concernyng the ordre of the retenue, and the rule of the Toune; wherof I never had cople nor noon desired to have.

^a Turbervyle.

My singular good Lord, in my most humble wyse I besече your good lordship favorably & beminly to interpretate & take the premisses, and, in consideration of the same, to be soo good lord to me as by your good meanys thys my excuse, grounded uppon resonable causes, may be acceptable to the Kynges Grace, to you my Lord, and all other of the Kynges most honorable Counsell.

Also my Lord, I have not soo sklanderly buyldyd my selve, nor soo weykly established my house in thies parties, that I can honestely or conveniently so sodenly depart hens, nor incontynent come theder. I have also many causes in my handes bothe of correccions & justice, that if I shuld sodenly relinquiyshe theme, I shuld unresonably & dishonestly disapoynt many matters & persons, to my great rebuke & sclaudre. And oonys in xv. dayes I visit my Cathedrall Chyrche, & the Monasterye of Hyde, whych may not soo sodenly be discontinued.

Finally my Lord, I also besече your good lordship, that in case thies advised fortificacions & municions of Calice and the other places, be ordeyned to be doo for suspicion of Werre or Siege, that then the reparacion and ryggyng of Ships be in lyke wyse avaunced, for if ovr enemyes be lordes of the See, Calice may not long hold. In lyke wyse the Isle of Wyght whych hathe no Capitaigne bydyng wythin it, and is full sklendrelly inhabit, and wors fortified & provyded of artillarye,

and also Portesmowthe, shalbe oon of the fyrst thyngs that owr enemyes woll loke uppon; ffor as your good Lordship well knoweth, if the werre fortune, it shall do great service. And in thys partie I besecche you my Lord, to remembre the warant that I left wyth you for the wages of ij. goonnners for the towre, & the blokehowse, and the keper of the brewe howses theer, whych must be regarded be it werre or peaxe. Thus doo I presumptuosely encombre your good Lordship wyth thies rude maters, but they be necessary; and I do make me sure ye knowe and conside the same better then I can wryte. And thus I shall daily pray the Holy Trinitie to send you, my Lord, as good lyfe and long as I wold wyshe to my self. At Wynchestre the last day of Apryle.

Yor. humble bedeman and preste,

RI. WYNTON.

It is evident from one part of this Letter that our Historians have followed each other too implicitly in asserting that Wolsey's ingratitude was the principal cause of bishop Fox's retiring from Court. We have here his own authority for ascribing it to a different motive. He had "no little remorse in his conscience." The scenes of the reign of Henry the Seventh preyed upon his recollection.

LETTER XCVII.

*Anne Boleyn to her father Sir Thomas Boleyn, upon
her coming to Court.*

[MS. COLL. CORP. CHRISTI CANTABR. CXIX. 9. Orig.]

* * The reader is here presented with what it is believed will prove to be the earliest of all Anne Boleyn's Letters now remaining, written to her father immediately before her appointment as one of the Maids of Honor to Mary Queen of France, the sister of King Henry the Eighth. By the report of our Historians, ANNE must have been at this time in her eighth year. It is the first Letter of her own composition in French, and is preserved among archbishop Parker's Manuscripts at Cambridge. The present Copy is from a Tracing, kindly supplied to the Editor by his friend the rev. Thomas Shelford. For the emendations and Translation in the margin, the reader's thanks are due to Charles König, Esq. who, in this instance, has loosened a knot which was tied too tight for the Editor to unravel without assistance.

Hever Castle in Kent, whence this Letter appears to have been dated, was Sir Thomas Boleyn's residence; where tradition still pretends to be full of the recollection of the loves of Henry and Anne.

In the signature to this Letter, Anne Boleyn appears purposely to have Frenchified her name.

It is here placed out of chronological order: but, in truth, the Editor had at one time determined to omit it from the Collection, believing that the attempt to decipher it would be in vain. The "Ejusdem Epistolæ Versio Latina" which follows the original in Nasmith's Catalogue, is an unsuccessful attempt at a Latin translation, somewhat later in point of time, by a hand unknown.

MONS^r. Je^a antandue par v^re lettre que a ves envy^b
que touf . . c onnette fame^d quan je vindre^e a la courte^f

^a j'ai.

^b avez envoyé, or, avez envié: the latter sense has been adopted in the translation.

^c toujours

^d femme.

^e viendrai.

^f cour.

et ma vertisses^a que la Rene prendra la pein de devisser^b
 a vecc^c moy de quoy me regoy^d bien' fort de penser
 parler a vecc ung perssone tante sage et onnete cela
 me ferra a voyr^e plus grante anvy^f de continuer a
 parler bene franssais et aussy espel^g especiale man
 pour suc que mellaves tant recomende^h et de memanⁱ
 vous a versty^k que les gardere la meux que je poure^l
 monss^r Je vous suplye descusser^m sy malettre etⁿ
 male escripte car je vous asure quele et ettografie^o de
 monantandemant sule^p la ou^q les auttres ne sont faits
 que escript de ma main et Semmonet me dit la lettre
 mes demeurea fañ je lafi^r moy meme de peur que
 lone ne saces sanon que^s je vous mande et je vous pry

Translation.

SIR, I find by your letter that you wish me to appear at court in a manner becoming a respectable female, and likewise that the Queen will condescend to enter into conversation with me. At this I rejoice, as I do to think that conversing with so sensible and elegant a princess will make me ever more desirous of continuing to speak and to write good French; the more so as it is by your earnest advice, which, I acquaint you by this present writing, I shall follow to the best of my ability. Sir, I entreat you to excuse me if this letter is badly written: I can assure you the spelling proceeds entirely from my own head, while the other letters were the work of my hands alone; and Semmonet tells me he has left the letter to be composed by myself that nobody else may know what I am writing to you. I therefore pray you

^a m'avertisses.^b deviser, i. e. s'entretenir familièrement.^c avec.^d rejouy.^e fera avoir.^f envie.^g épeler.^h spécialement par ce que (vous) me l'avez tant recommandé.ⁱ ma main.^k avertis.^l que je le garderai (observerai) le mieux que je pourrai.^m d'excuser.ⁿ si ma lettre est.^o je vous assure qu'elle est orthographiée.^p seul.^q la ou, i. e. au lieu que.^r m'est demeurée afin (que) je la fie (fisse).^s que l'on ne sache, sinon que.

que la lounire^a de votre vue net libertte de separe^b
 la voullonte^c que dites aves de me edere^d car hile^e me
 samble quettes ascure on la ou vous poves sy
 vous plet me vere^f de clarasion de vñe paroile et de moy
 soues sertene que miara seoffice de peres^g ne din gra-
 titude^h que sut en passer ne et fasera mon a veccion
 questeⁱ ede libere^k devivre autant sainte que vous
 plera me commander et vous prommes que mon amour
 et vondue^l par ung si grant fermette quele nara
 james pover de sane^m deminuer et feresⁿ fin a mon
 pourpon^o a pres mettre recomande bine humbla-
 mante a vñe bone grace et scripte^p a Uevre de
 Vñe treshumble et tresobiessante fille

ANNA DE BOULLAN.

Translation.

not to suffer your superior knowledge to conquer the inclination which you say you have to be of service to me; for it seems to me you are certain where, if you please, you may fulfil your promise. As to myself, rest assured that I shall not, ungratefully, look upon this office of a father as one that might be dispensed with; nor will it tend to diminish the affection you are in quest of (?), resolved as I am to lead as holy a life as you may please to desire of me: indeed my love for you is founded on so firm a base that it can never be impaired. I put an end to this my lucubration after having very humbly craved your good-will and affection. Written at Hever by

Your very humble and obedient daughter

ANNA DE BOULLAN.

^a lumiere.

^b n'aye liberté de supéer, *old Fr.* for vaincre (defeat, overthrow).

^c volonté.

^d alder.

^e il.

^f faire.

^g soyez certain que je mirerai (*for* regarderais) cet office de pere.

^h ni d'ingratitude.

ⁱ ni effacera mon affection quétée?

^k et je delibere—I propose.

^l fondée.

^m si grande fermeté qu'elle n'aura jamais le pouvoir de s'en—

ⁿ ferais.

^o pourpens, *old Fr.* deep study or thought, perpension.

^p écrite.

LETTER XCVIII.

The Vice President and Fellows of Magdalen College to Cardinal Wolsey, upon his request to dig stone from their quarries in the neighbourhood of Oxford for his New College.

[MS. COTTON. FAUST. C. VII. fol. 187. Orig.]

. Wolsey had been fellow and bursar of Magdalen College. Fiddes, as well as the tradition of Oxford, ascribe to him the building of Magdalen Tower, between 1492 and 1501. Chandler, in his Life of the founder of the College, is unwilling to allow it, though he admits that Wolsey was in office at the time of its construction.

The quarries alluded to in the early part of this Letter were those of Hedington near Oxford, from which Magdalen College had been itself built, and which had been worked from the time of Henry the Third.

The rest of the Letter is complimentary to Wolsey, for settling the differences at Oxford between the townsmen and the scholars, and they had been very serious from 1516 to 1523, when King Henry the Eighth, through the Cardinal's influence, granted to the University a fresh and ample charter of privileges.

In 1524, Wolsey appointed John Hygden, the President of Magdalen College, to be the first Dean of CARDINAL COLLEGE. He was again made Dean of the same College in 1532, upon its refoundation by King Henry the Eighth, as CHRIST'S CHURCH COLLEGE.

MAGNIFICENTISSIMO Principi D^o. Thomæ Omnipotentis Dei providentia Archiépiscopo Eboracensi, Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbytero Cardinali, Apostolicæ Sedis et a latere Legato, Angliæ Primate et Cancellario summo, Vicepreses Magdalanensis ac

universus Contubernalium cœtus, fœlicitatem precatur perpetuam.

Accepimus nuper Literas tuas magnificentissime Princeps, quæ profecto candidissimi pectoris tui testes syncerissimæ esse potuerunt. Nimirum quum apud nos Magdalenenses infinitis nominibus tuos, in re levicula et nullius profecto momenti, si aliqua meritorum tuorum ratio habeatur, precibus potius quam imperio uti maluisses. Quorsum enim spectat, ut tu Princeps maximus, et cujus sapientia jam totum Christianum Orbem in stuporem converterit, petas potius quam imperes ut liceat Celsitudini tuæ ad opus pientissimum, videlicet hoc sacrosanctum Asylum uti Lapidicinis nostris; quæ haud dubie *si omnino AUREÆ essent, quales apud Persas jactitantur montes*, nunquam tamen vel minimæ beneficiorum tuorum parti respondere valuissent. Nam ut alia innumera et quæ incredibilia penè viderentur, omittamus, quid unquam rebus nostris utilius aut accommodatius contigisse potuit, quam est istud quod nuper singularis sapientia tua divinumque consilium, facillime et velut minimo digitulo præstitit, confirmavit, et ratum fecit? quum te autore, te duce, te auspice fœlicissimo, repente velut ab intestino bello, a civili discordia, ab infesto tum odio tum dissidio, a litigiis, jurgiis, et similitate maxima, quum demum e plusquam æstuariis irarum fluctibus, in fraternam pacem, in veram concordiam, in quietam et sinceram amicitiam, in sempiternam præteritæ litis oblivionem,

in tranquillissimum unanimi consensus portum, traducimur, componimur, et sedamur. Animum ergo hostilem deponimus, bellum execramur, damnamus arma, contumeliorum piget, adeo ut nunc atrocissimum supplicii genus perferre videremur, quam iterum hanc in arenam descendere. Cæterum quandoquidem ea hominum imbecillitas est, ut nequeant aliquando a periculis suis temperare, quin naufragus interdum, resarcita navi, mare repetat, victusque victorem hostem nonnunquam bello lacessat, curavit circumspectissima prudentia tua eum virum nobis perficiendum, cujus oculata sagacitate, animique moderatione futurum speramus, ut quemadmodum animus noster adhuc recenti hujus furoris memoria à dissensione longissime abhorret, ita quoque in posterum omnis dissentendi occasio auferatur et pereat. Nam ut alias complures et animi et corporis illius dotes quas in homine, vel hoc tantillo spacio quo nobiscum versatus est, satis clare perspeximus non recenseamus, nihil penitus prætermittet, quod ad hanc concordiam quæ tuis auspiciis inter nos cepta est, stabiliendam perpetuoque sancendam pertinet. Omnes enim ex æquo, mira comitate, humanitate maxima, compellat, tractat, et sibi conciliare studet, non alia (ut plane apparet) de causa, quam ut quum omnes sibi arctissime devinxerit, se cum omnibus, ceu caput cum membris, in unum idemque corpus, indissolubili nodo adglutinet et constringat. Pergat ergo infinita bonitas tua nobis semper hujusmodi viros procurare. Pergat benefa-

ciendo semper se vincere. Pergat demum de virtute et literis tam ultra fidem bene mereri, ut si nunquam antehac incepissent, per te initium sumpsisse videantur.

Vivat, valeatque Majestas tua semper *foelix faustaque*.

Magnificentissimo Principi D^o. Thomæ Dei Optimi Max. benignitate Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbytero Cardinali, Apostolicæ Sedis et a Latere Legato, Angliæ Primate et Cancellario Summo, dentur hæ

Literæ.

Of the Letters which are extant, addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, whether from private individuals, from corporate bodies, or from crowned heads, there are scarcely any which are not filled with compliment and flattery. Francis the First, in writing to him, signed constantly "*votre bon amy*." Charles Duke of Savoy wrote "*Mons^r. le Cardinal mon cousin*."^a Margaret Queen of Navarre announced her belief of her pregnancy to him, apparently at her mother's desire, with her own hand, as "*Mons^r. mon bon frere*;" finishing "*votre bonne seur et fille Marguerite*."^b Christiern King of Denmark wrote to him "*Amico et Protectori nostro longe charissimo*." Charles the Fifth used to sign "*votre vray bon amy*." Margaret archduchess of Savoy almost uniformly wrote to him "*votre bonne mere Marguerite*;" and even the superscriptions of her Letters, "*a Mons^r. le Legat d'Angleterre mon bon filz*."^c

Lower in Society greater homage was paid. Bishops, Lords, Abbats, Priors, and the inferior clergy, vied with each other in their terms of adulation. The President and Fellows of Magdalen College Oxford, in the preceding Letter, wrote "*Magnificentissimo Principi; vivat, valeatque Majestas tua*." The Prior of Winchcombe calls him "*Cardinalium splendor et decus: gloriose Cardinale et Princeps*;" ending, "*in dulcissimo Jesu, et in omnibus Sanctis, semper vivat sacra vestra dominatio, sanctissime, reverendissime Pater, et D. merito observantissime*."

To multiply these instances were needless.

^a MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III. fol. 58.

^b Ibid. fol. 67 b. "*Madame ma commande ne craindre point a vous escrire, quelle pansee que je soye grousee de quatre moys*."

^c MS. Cotton. Galba B. VIII. foll. 97, 134 b, 137.

LETTER XCIX.

Cardinal Wolsey to King Henry the Eighth, chiefly upon the discontent expressed at the manner of suppressing the small Monasteries with which his College at Oxford was to be endowed.

[MS. BAKER, BRIT. MUS. HARL. 7035. p. 174.]

. The return of Francis the First to his dominions, so minutely noticed in one or two Letters of the preceding Volume, was followed by demands from England of certain restitutions, the enforcing of which in the negotiations at Compeigne was deputed to Wolsey alone. This was, in fact, the critical moment of Wolsey's fortunes, when, to use Cavendish's words, his enemies "lay in a-wait with my Lady Anne to take the Cardinal in a brake."

The first part of the present Letter alludes to these negotiations. The rest shows that the enterprise to ruin him in his absence had become successful: the King himself not only listening to, but reiterating the general dissatisfaction at the Suppression of those Monasteries with the revenues of which the Cardinal's College was to be endowed. It is remarkable that in this Letter, as if in compliment, Wolsey calls it *the KING'S INTENDED COLLEGE*.

The following is the title of this Letter as given in Baker's hand writing:

"Letter written by Card. Wolsey's own hand to K. Hen. 8th. transcribed from a Copy taken of it by ArchBp. Abbot, endorsed thus, '*The Originall I sent back to the office of the King's Papers. Ita est*, G. CANT. Apr. 17, 1616.'"

To the King's Most noble Grace, Defensor of the Faith.

S^r. AFTER my most humble & lowly recommendations, it may like your Highness to understand that it hath been & is much to my rejoyce & comfort, to perceive by the relation of S^r. Tho. More how the discourses & communications which I have had with the

Chancellor of Alanson sent from my Lady the Fr. King's mother for treaty of peace with your Highness, have been to your contentation & pleasure; wherein Sr. as in all other your affairs, I have not, ne shall pretermitt any labor, diligence, study, or travail, which may be to the conducing of the same to such end as shall be to your Highness honor, exaltation, & benefit. And where it hath pleased your Highness of your excellent goodness & gracious favour, to advertise me by the said Sr. Tho. More of such reports as have ben made unto your Highness, consisting in two things, the one concerning the office of Clerk of the Market within the liberties of the Monastery of St. Albans, & the other my officers in the Suppression of certain exile^a & small Monasteries, wherein neither God is served, ne religion kept, which, with your gracious ayde & assistance, converting the same to a far better use, I purpose to annex unto your intended College of Oxford, for the encrease of good Letters & virtue. I most humbly thank your Highness for that it hath pleased the same, so like a good & gracious Master, to give unto me knowledge & admonition therof, ascertaining your Grace, that as to the office of Clerk of the Market within the liberties of the said Monastery, I never was minded either to extend or to diminish, but in such manner to use the same as I found the said Monastery possessed aforetime; for at your last being there, the

^a Exile, i. e. Alien Priories; Cells to foreign Monasteries.

Graunts made by your noble Progenitors, confirmed also by the late King of famous memory, your noble father, whose soule Jesus pardon, & also by your Highness, were show'd unto your Councell, whereby they evidently perceived, that neither the Marshall of England, ne the Steward of your most hon^{ble}. Household, ne also the office of Clerk of the Markets, shall be exercised with the said liberties, by other then the officers of the said Monastery, as by the Graunts & Confirmations, ready at your good pleasure to be eftsoⁿe showed, doth right largely appear. Nevertheless, whereas the inquest & officers there, have not justly, discreetly, & indifferently assessed & taxed the prices of the Market, as to right, equity, & the good commodity of your Grace's servants hath appertayned; I who knew nothing thereof, am not only discontented with them, for their misdemeanor in that behalf, & shall with God's grace, see them ordered accordingly, but also have no small cause most humbly to thank your Highness, whome it hath pleased to see the said prices reformed, unto the due order & direct course. And God forbid that I should, or suffer any man to, encroach upon any part of your jurisdiction royall, trusting verily, in consideration of my poor service, that your Highness will be as good a Lord to that your Monastery, as your noble Progenitors have been, as I most humbly, on my knees, beseech your Highness to be.

And albeit Sr. some folks, which be always more

prone to speak evil & report the worst without knowledge of the truth, have percase informed your Highness of some disorder that should be used by my Commissaries in suppressing of the said Monasteries, yet most humbly I shall beseech your Highness, after your noble & accustomed manner, to give no credence unto them unto such time as your Grace may hear my declaration in that behalf. For Sr. Almighty God I take to my record, I have not meant, intended, or gone about, ne also have willed mine Officers, to do any thing concerning the said Suppressions, but under such forme & manner, as is & hath largely been to the full satisfaction, recompence, & joyous contentation of any person which hath had, or could pretend to have right or interest in the same, in such wise, that many of them giving thanks & laude to God, for the good chance succeeded unto them would for nothing, if they might, return or be restored, & put again into their former State, as your Highness shall abundantly & largely perceive, at my next repair unto the same. Verily Sr. I would be loath to be noted, that I should intend such a vertuous foundation for the encrease of your Highnesses merit, profit of your subjects, the advancement of good learning, & for the weale of my poore soule, to be established or adquired *ex rapinis*. But, God willing, shall in such wise proceed to the perfection thereof, with prejudice or derogation of any man's right or interest, that it shall appear to all the

world, that I am minded to sett forth that act sincerely, purely, & without injury, wrong, or damage to any person. Howbeit, Sr. I account myself most bounden unto your Highness, in that it hath pleased the same so favourably & benignly to advertise me, of the reports contrived in that behalf, which I trust in such wise to avoyd, that your Highness shall not only be therewith contented, but also they shall peradventure be the more circumspect, to make any such like reports hereafter.

Finally, Sr, I send herewith unto your Highness, a Copy of certain Articles & Clauses excerpted & taken out of the Popes Letters now sent unto his Oratour here resident, declaring in what terms he doth stand with the French King, alledging that he hath nothing done, nor intendeth to do, to the prejudice of your Highness & the Emperour. And albeit his Holynesses demeanor in that behalf, is not so laudable, ne of such sort, as I would it were, yet it is not so evill as it hath ben bruted & reported, trusting that after the arrivall of my last Letters, wherein I have ben rounde & plain, his said Holyness shall alter his copie, & percase shew himself according to such expectation as your Highness & I have had of him. And thus Jesus preserve your most noble & royall estate. At my Howse besides Westminster y^e 5th. day of Febr. by your

most humble Chapleyn,

T. CARD^{L^{is}}. EBOR.

LETTER C.

Henry Stafford to King Henry the Eighth, praying to be restored as son and heir of Edward Duke of Buckingham. A. D. 1529.

[CART. ANTIQ. COTTON. XIII. 19. Orig.]

. From the statement in Dugdale's Baronage, an ordinary reader would suppose that Henry Lord Stafford had been restored, without intention of further disturbance, to a portion of his father's lands, in the 14th of Henry the Eighth.

The present Letter of petition, presented in 1529, explains the manner in which Wolsey's vindictive feelings interfered with what was intended to be royal bounty. Dugdale states that this Lord Stafford, by Ursula the daughter of Sir Richard Pole, had issue three sons and a daughter. We here learn upon his own authority that he had boarded in an Abbey from sheer poverty for four years, with his wife and SEVEN children.

IN his moste humble wise shewethe vnto yo^r. Highnes
your most humble and true subiect Henry Stafforde,
sone of Edwarde Stafforde late Duke of Buckingham,
whiche eght yeres paste for his offences contrary to his
allegians, by verdite of his perys of highe treason was
atteyntye, and after for the same suffred not only his
dethe, but by the course of your lawes forfetted all his
landes, goodes, and hereditamentes, into your Highnes
handes, and after by your highe Courte of Parliament
more largely therof atteyntye; not only forfetting all
the premysses, not only in debarring his heires from
all his landes, goodes, and possessions, but also from

all honor, degre, and reputation that of right to every true subject apparteynyth or belongyth after there degres, except yo^r. Highnes of yo^r. most mercifull and iuste disposicion, calling to yo^r. gracijs remembraunce; do ponder not only the offence done by the father of your saide suppliant to the utter vndoing of his heires for ever, but also will most equally mercifully agayne waye and remembre, first the powr innocensy of your saide suppliant in and of all and every of his faders offences, and also his true and onspotted demeanor not only sins the dethe of his saide father, but always affore, not vnknowne to your Highnes; and where your moste noble Grace of your most bowntious disposicion graunted to your saide subject and suppliant CCCCC marke landes, to take and parceyve sins the next Michalmes after the dethe of his saide fader, not only for his leving but also for the joyntor of his wyffe. So it is moste graciouse Prince that at the tyme of delyvery of the saide Landes to your powr subject by the Lorde Cardinall, late your Highe Chancheler, your powr Suppliant perceyving the same landes not to be of the saide valure by^a

most humbly declared the same then by sondry bokes made by your auditors and otherwise to the saide Cardinall, whiche at that tyme willyd your powr suppliaunt to take the saide landes, and promysyd on his prestwoode to be contynuall suter to your Highnes for the performacion of the saide CCCCC markes, to

^a The blank here is in the original. EDIT.

whome yo^r. saide Suppliant contynually after was suter till the next Parlament folowing; at whiche tyme he answerd that owther he shulde be content with the saide landes, or elles he shulde not only have no landes at all but also your Graces highe displeasor. Wherefore your saide Suppliant, cheffely exchewing your highe displeasour, and trusting that the saide Cardinall at lengythe wil have remorse for his wrongfull and vntrue deling with your powr subjecte, dyde not only mekely accept the same lande, but also hathe continually be suter to the saide Lorde Cardinall, whiche alwayes hathe put your saide subject in comforte of ampliacion of lyving, wherof no effecte as yete hathe folowyde, to the greate poverance and vndoing of your saide powr subject. And for bycause affortyme, for none offence fownde nor imputyd to your powr subjecte, he was (after grette coste done uppon a powr house in Sussexe in whiche he dwellyde thre yeres) causyd by the Lorde Cardinall most sodenly to leve and brek uppe his housholde, and to departe and sell that litill whiche he hadde there to his greate losse and hinderance, and bycause he hathe no dwelling place mete for him to inhabyte upon suche Landes as he hathe of your most graciouse gyfte, and there tarying to knowe his pleasour where he shulde abyde, fayne to lyve full powerly at boorde in an Abbey this foure yeres daye, wyth his wyff and seven children, to there gret care, sorowe, and hevynes. In consideracion of the premysses, most humbly bysiching yo^r. Highnes yo^r.

powr suppliant, considering his truythe and circumstance of the premysses, to restore yo^r. saide suppliant in his blode as sone and heyre of blode to his late father by what so ever name or surname yt shall please yo^r. Highnes, with suche ampliacion of lyvyng as shall stande with yo^r. Graces pleaso^r., and farther protestyth by thys his petition that he nowther desirythe nor covet^a the highe name or dignytie that his late father hadde, nor never dyde, God he takyth to his juge; nor to have therby any estate, preemynence, dignitie, name armys, maners, landes, or tenementes, other than by your Higñes shalbe appoyntyde; but that he may be indyfferently taken, and reportyd amonge with other your true subjectes after his demeano^r, that yt may be seene that your Highnes dothe bere no displeaso^r. nor grudge, but equally according to his demeryte dothe, and will hereafter take him, and he, his wyffe, and children, shall not only praye dayly for your Highnes, but also spent his goode and lyffe in your Graces service, in whiche his lyf to spende and fynysse, is and shalbe his most desire and comforte.^b

^a coveteth.

^b The Cottonian Manuscript *Vespasian F. XIII.* fol. 116 b. has an original Letter of Henry Lord Stafford, probably written at this very time, to Mr. afterwards Sir Thomas Wriothesley.

"Master Wrysley as hertely as my hart cane thinke I recomend me to ye, and so do thanke yow of gret gentillnes shoued unto me, whiche I assure yow shall not be fforguten on my be halffe if I may do you plesur. And for lake of lesir I pray yow to gyve orders to this berer, also your aduyase ffor my Sute to my Lord Pryvy Sell whiche I truste ys butt resonabil with Godis grace, hou send ye as well to flare as I wuld my selfe. This Twysday the xxvj. day of March.

Yo^r boundone,

HENRY STAFFORD."

LETTER CI.

Cardinal Wolsey to Thomas Cromwell, entreating him to come to him, and to enquire if the Lady Anne's displeasure is assuaged.

[A FRAGMENT IN THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY. Orig.]

. Among the fragments of the Cottonian Library rescued from the Fire of 1731, there are many of Wolsey's Letters and Drafts of Letters, entirely in his own hand, both before and after his fall. They seem to have belonged to Cromwell's Papers; and, being imperfect, have been neglected by his Biographers. Those before Wolsey's fall, are, one to Mr. Strangwysch at Wherwell, that the King had granted him the custody of the heirship of Sir Ralph Bygott's sons; one to Mr. Bulmer on some benefice; one to Mr. Ashton one of his servants or agents; two letters from Hampton Court, on the suppression of an insurrection; and a portion of a letter to the King, in which he regrets that he cannot send His Majesty some quails, but will send some seeds; regrets that one Stubbes stands in a Premunire, adding "I think it will cost hym money or he get out," and then says "I beseeche your Grace to be so good Lorde as to send me a geldinge; and I trust shortly to see your Grace:" dated London the last day of June.

Of the Letters after the Cardinal's fall several are to Cromwell, and most of them begin like the letters to him which are printed in the former Series: "Entirely beloved;" "Myn onely ayder in this mine intolerable anxiety and heaviness;" "My only refuge and ayde;" "Myne owne good, trusty, and assuryd refuge in thys my calamyte."

Wolsey has been thought to have borne his disgrace with somewhat less of manly feeling than became his dignity: indeed his Letters bear evidence of it both in this and in the former Series: but there were moments when he shewed a degree of courage even toward the King. When Master Shelley, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, announced to him that it was the King's pleasure to possess himself of York Place, Wolsey pleaded that he had it not as his own property but as the patrimony of his See; and that consent on his part would be as it were a "departure with another's right for ever." Shelley told him that his Highness had "sent for all the Judges, and for all his learned counsel,

in whose Determinations it was fully resolved that his Grace should recognize before a Judge the right thereof to be in the King and his successors. 'Master Shelley,' quoth he, 'ye shall make report to the King's Highness, that I am his obedient subject and faithful chaplain and headman, whose royal commandment and request I will in no wise disobey, but most gladly fulfil and accomplish his princely will and pleasure in all things, and in especial in this matter, in as much as ye, the fathers of the laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore I CHARGE your conscience and DISCHARGE MINE. Howbeit, I pray you, show His Majesty FROM ME, that I most humbly desire His Highness to call to his most gracious remembrance, that there is both HEAVEN and HELL.' And therewith the Clerk was called who wrote my Lord's recognizance."^a

THE ferteryng^b and puttyng ovyr of your commyng hyther hath so increasyd my sorowe and put me in such anxiete of mynd, that thys nygth my brethe and wynde by sythyng was so short that I was by the space of thre owres as one that shuld have dyd. Wherfor, yf ye love my lyf, breke away thys e'nyng and come hyther, to the'yntent I may open my mynde unto yow and instruct yow of the same, wych I cannat commyt to wrytting; but yt ys necessary that the same be done by mutual conferens with yow by mowth, and that I may have your Cownsell upon the same. Yf thys tyme be put ovyr yt shall not lye in your poore to provyde the remedye. Yf I mygth I wold nat fayle. Rather then thys my spekyng with yow shulbe put ovyr and delayd I wold com on my fote to yow. At the reverens of God take summe payne now for me, and forsake me nat in thys myn extreme nede; and

^a Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, Singer's edit. vol. i. p. 218.

^b furthering.

wher as I can nat, God shall rewarde yow. Now ys
 the tyme to shewe whether ye love me or not. Wher-
 fore in any wyse take . . . thys purpose summe
 lytyl tyme. Ye shal not tary here long . . .
 . . . whych your comyng I shal showe yow myne in
 all suche thyngs as ye have wryttyn to me afore. I
 am now in no . . . poynt to wrytt at the leynth
 any thyng, nor shalbe abyll . . . any yf I
 contynue in thys cas *nam dies mei f . . . entur* . .
 . . . with
 Mr. Nores affor your comyng of whom ye may . .
 . . sum specialnes yf the desspleasure of my lady Anne
 be sumwhat assuagyed, as I pray God the same may be,
 then yt shuld . . . that by summe con-
 venyent meane she be further . . .
 . . . ys the onely helpe and remedy all
 possyble means . . . atteynyng of hyr
 favor. I have God knowyth . . .
 . . . to . . . nowe to showe cheryte,
 pety, . . .
 . . . your wyl . . .
 . . .
 . . .

ALTHOUGH the latter part of this Letter is wanting, there can be no
 doubt that it was written from Esher. Wolsey speaks of the illness
 which agitation had brought upon him in strong terms. In the First
 Series of these Letters* one from Dr. Augustine to Cromwell, in Italian,

* Vol. ii. p. 2.

has been slightly mentioned, requiring aid for "Monsignor Reverendissimo," the usual style in Italy for a great churchman, and evidently meaning Wolsey, dated Essex Jan. 19, 1529-30. This Letter is so ill written, as far as penmanship goes, that it would be difficult to give an exact transcript of it. Nevertheless it deserves a farther notice. Augustine begs in it that Master Butts and Master Walter may be sent down as soon as possible; adding in Latin "Res multum urget. Prudenti et Amico pauca." He wishes Leeches, *hungry ones*, to be procured, and desires that Master Balthasar, or if he cannot or is unwilling, that some other person may be sent, who understands to put them on. He adds again in Latin, "Periculum est in mora:" and signs "A vestri commandi, AUG. DE AUG."

LETTER CII.

Cardinal Wolsey to Thomas Cromwell, concerning his House, belonging to the See of York, at Battersea in Surrey.

[MS. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. Orig.]

. A moiety of the manor which had belonged to the Stanley family in Battersea, consisting of nearly four hundred acres of land, with houses, &c. was purchased in the 39th of Henry the Sixth, by Laurence Booth then bishop of Durham, and by him afterwards annexed to the See of York, of which he became Archbishop.

The House upon this estate, not far from the water-side, at Battersea, called YORK-HOUSE, is said to have been built by him. It was intended as a residence for his successors when their affairs should call them to London; and fourscore acres of land were reserved, by a special clause in their farmer's lease, to be surrendered to the Archbishop to use as demesne lands, at a month's notice, whenever he should be resident at Battersea, or within sixty miles of that place. This is the House alluded to in Wolsey's Letter.

Tradition speaks of Wolsey's residence here; and the room is yet shewn in which he is said to have entertained Anne Boleyn; Lysons however in his *Environs of London* thinks both traditions improbable: the House being too small to contain half of the Cardinal's retinue, and

his residence at Whitehall bearing the same appellation, where his entertainments were more likely to have been given.*

It is remarkable that in the superscription of this Letter which must have been written in the month of June 1530, Cromwell is designated as Wolsey's wellbeloved Counsellor and *Servant*.

"Young Daunce," for whom, as his father-in-law, Sir Thomas More had begged the occupation of York House at Battersea, was the son of Sir John Dancy. He married Elizabeth, Sir Thomas More's second daughter.

There is something in this Letter which tells us that Sir Thomas More had misgivings of his elevation. Nor is it unworthy of remark that the signature of him who here asks a favor, stands at the head of those who preferred charges against WOLSEY.

MAISTER Cromwell in my right harty and lovyng maner I commende me unto you, signifieng unto the same that albeit I have heretofor, as ye do well knowe, at the sute and desir of my Lord Chaunceler made unto me on the behalf of young Daunce his sonne in lawe, graunted unto hym the use and occupieng of my poor house in Batirsey, if any casueltie of deth, or any other incommodite or inconvenience chaunced unto hym, wherby he shulde be inforced or compelled to remove from his awne house; yet, I never mente nor intended that my por servaunte John Oxynerde, who hath married a poor kynswoman of myne, shulde be expelled out of the same; but that they shulde have their habitacion and dwellyng place therin, for their relefe and comforte. Notwithstanding, my said por kynswoman commyng hither from thens to her no litle coste and charge (her husbonde beyng upon the See

* Env. of London, 2d edit. vol. i. pt. 1. pa. 21, 22.

for helpyng of the conveyance of my por stuf hither) hath shewed unto me that she is commaunded clierly to remove and departe from the said House, not knowyng wher to have a place to put in her hede, to the utter undoyng of her, her husbond and children: wherof, if it so be, I do not a little mervaile, considering that in makyng of the said graunte unto my said Lord Chaunceler, I never thought ne ment that they shuld be clierly removed from the said house, but that my Lord Chaunceler . . . other his folks beyng in the forsaide necessite shulde have always the occupieng and use of the principall parte of the same. And they in . . . absence to have the custodie therof, and in their presence to have cern in the same for their dwellyng & mansion place as shalbe righte convenient. And thus I alweys declared unto yong Maister promysyd that they shuld not be disturbed . . . their moved from the Wherf to your and good dexterite to move hym on my behalf thus to be contented and pleased; requyryng and praying you furthermore that they may have, besids that they have all redy, parte of such pastures as wer reserved to the use of my household, to ferme, payng therfor as moche as any other wolde do for the sustenaunce of their catall, withoute the which they cannot leve. And grete pitie it wer and ferre discrepant from kyndenes that any strangers

shulde have any preferrement by lease, copy, or otherwise afore any of my pore kynne, unto whom I am naturally and of charite bounden to see in their necessities. Nowe ye beyng advertised of my mynde in the premisses, myne assured trust is that ye wol for the love that ye bere to theym and me see theym ordered accordyngly. In doying . . . ; ye shall administer unto me right singular pleasur, as knoweth God who alweys preserve you. From my manor of Southwel th . . . day of June.

Your lovyng ffrende

T. CAR^{lis} EBOR'.

To my right trusty and wel-
biloved counsaillor and ser-
vaunte Thomas Cromwell.

LETTER CIII.

Cardinal Wolsey to King Henry the VIIIth. recommending to the King his College at Oxford.

[DRAFT IN WOLSEY'S HAND. . A FRAGMENT IN THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY.]

. The expected destruction of Cardinal College was one of Wolsey's last afflictions. It had been founded in 1525 upon the site, and partly with the buildings of the Austin Monastery of St. Frideswide; but before the vast design could be perfected, Wolsey had incurred the premunire. Still, however, it was not dissolved, but continued in being after Wolsey's death. On or about July 17th, 1532, the prayer of Wolsey's petition was so far complied with, that it was reestablished for a Dean, twelve

Canons, &c. under the style of **KYNGE HENRY THE EIGHTH**'s COLLEGE IN OXFORD, which was again surrendered into the King's hands July 18th, 1545; and the next year the See of Oxford being removed from Oseney hither, the Priory Church was made its Cathedral, by the name of **CHRIST CHURCH**, and the chapter and College refounded. The last patent of foundation was dated Nov. 4th, 1546.

A Copy of the Statutes by which Wolsey's foundation was to have been governed, is still preserved among the Hargrave Manuscripts in the British Museum. The Re-foundation is without Statutes: Henry the Eighth intended to have given them, but died before they were prepared.

Most gracious Sovereign Lord and mercyfull Prince, prostrat at your majestys fete with wepyng terys, this shalbe in moste reverent and humble maner to recomende onto your excellent cheryte and goodnes the poore College of Oxford, wych for the gret zeele and affection that your Grace beryth to good Lettres, vertue, and norishyng of Lernyng, and in consyderacion of peynfull and longe contynued servys . . . contentyd that I shuld erect, founde, and establishe, and wher, not withstandyng my convyccion in the Premunyre, of your most excellent nature wych hath ever be moved and propensyd to clemency and mercy then to rygor and severyte, yt hath pleasyd your Hyhnes to your perpetuall meryte, honor, and most abundantly to impart your mercy, lyberallyte, and bountiosnes vnto me, for the which I accept my self of all creatures lyvyng to be most oblegyd and bwndyn unto your Majeste. So yt may please the sam to have pety^a and

^a pity.

compassyon of the poore Dene and Canons of the
 sayd Colege wych now reparyth onto yowr Hyhnes for
 knowlege gracyus
 pleasure in there establyshment and contynuaunce . .
 . . yf yt schule seyn^a to your hyhe wysdom and
 mercyfull cherytable goodnes be Statuts
 or Ordynance any thing therof ys
 . . . superflus or owt to be reservyd both ther and
 Submytting our
 sylf to suche ordyr and dyreccion
 ll devyse and take in
 that behalf shulbe agreable conformable and . . .
 and
 dayly to Almyghty God
 dayly prayers for the ot . . .

THERE is a fragment of another Letter to King Henry the Eighth
 from Wolsey, of which enough does not remain to ascertain the entire
 subject, further than that it seems to relate to the capture of "a Bryton
 schyp." It begins,

"Moste gracyous Sovereyn Lorde as to the premyssys and declaracion
 of the troweth, albeyt yt ys long agon sythyns thys thyng was don, and
 by reason of myn age, gret hevynes, and calamyte, my remembrance ys
 nett so fresche or quicke as yt hath beyn; yet insuyng your moste dred
 commandement as ny as I can call to mynde I shall declare what I do
 knowe and what have bye done in the forseyd matter."

^a seem.

LETTER CIV.

Wolsey to Cromwell. Thanks for assistance; and recommending his Colleges.

[DRAFT IN WOLSEY'S HAND. A FRAGMENT.]

M. CROMWELL for as moche as thys present berrer departyth by post for the dethe of M. Larche on whos sowle Jhesu have mercy, and that I am in suche Indyssposycion of body and mynde by the reason of suche gret hevynes as I am yn, being put from my slep and mete for such advertysments as I have had from yow of the dyssolucion of my College with the smale comfort and apparence that I have to be retenyd by the Kyngs hyhnes in thys myne extreme nede, makyth me that I can not wrytt onto yow for wepyng and sorowe, wherfor thes shalbe not onely to geve onto yow my moste effectualle thancks for suche gret paynys as ye have takyn in all my causes him so to requyte the same to your full satysfaction as I shulbe of more abylyte but also to recommede poore astat and Collegys to your and other goode . . . ds helpe and releff besechyng God to inspyre in hert more pity and compassyon and to consyder . . .

D 2

. . . moste nobyll hert whether I have deservyd
 thus to be delt with And that such
 thyngs as I have to the increase of Gods
 honor feyth and relygyon
 extyncte and convertyd to other prophane . . .
 virtuous, and shall of lyclyhoode
 . . . ende referring the redresse therof
 God and to the Princes moste mercyfull
 thus with wepyng terys I lye
 Sowthwell . . .

DRAFTS of one or two other Letters occur, entirely in Wolsey's hand, soliciting the friendship of individuals for his College at Oxford. Of these the following may serve as specimens.

1.

Myn owne goode M. Antonye after my moste herty recommendations with lycke thancks for the goodnes wych as a most lovyng perfyght and constante frende ye have showyd onto me in all my causys and pursuitts most entirly praying yow of contynuaunce this shalbe semblable^a to desyre yow that foras moch as the Deane and Canones of my pore College in Oxford doth nowe repare unto the Kyngs Hyhnes for knowlege of hys gracyous pleasure on ther establysshement and contynuaunce to be good mastyr unto them, and in place and tyme as ye schall nede and se cause to helpe them with your sad^b wyse counsell and good advertysement. And sythyns as ye do well trowe the seyde College hath beyne erectyd and indyde with lands by the Popes . . . auctoryte, the Kyngs moste royall asent concernyng the sa in as effectuall wyse as cowde be devysed by the Jugys of the lawe and other well lernyd men, gret pety and yt were that for my in the Premunyre opon consyde respects as ye wol trowe that thes poore Scollers and schuld suffyr ather by dyssolving of ther body or by takyng

^a semblably.

^b grave.

awaye of any notable Whenfore open my . . .
 and with for the olde love and amyte that
 heret now the Kynges Hyhnes and . .
 as fit you shall
 a thyng so . .

 cannot be in consens convertyd to any other use then of the seyd Colledge.
 This doying ye shall bynde not onely them and me ever more but also
 besyds our dayly prayers so to requyte your goodnes as ye schall have
 cause to thyncke the same to be well imployed and bestowyd to . . .

2.

Myn owne good mastyr Shelley after my mooste hartly comendacyons
 thes shalbe in mooste entyre and effectuell wyse to desyr you at the re-
 verens of God and in the way of cheryte and for the olde Amyte and
 Love that hath beyn be twyxt us and for that I have usyd your counsell
 therin to be good Mastyr to the poore Deane and Canens of the Car-
 dynalls Colledge in Oxford and with your dyscret counsell and faverable
 ayd to helpe them nowe in ther extreme nede as well for the contynuaunce
 of t . . . incorporate Body as also that no notable or gret portion
 of the ho . . . be takyn from them; for gret pety and, &c. (that they
 should suffer).

3.

Myn owne lovyng M^r. Crumwell thes shalbe not onely in . . herty
 and lovyng maner to salute yow but also to sygnify I am
 gretly desyrows to understand and here from you afferys
 stand and procede not onely conseryng my Colledge . . . also myn
 owne poore astat in the releff wherof myn ondowted trust ys that ye wole
 in all placys and tymys shew yow . . . as myn assuryd frinde and
 onely comfort And suerly . . . yn what hevynes of mynde I am
 yn presently a same dayly more and more do
 increase I have no d your gentyl hert wold have com-
 passyon therof And that possybyll meanys ye wold studdy
 and labor for and releff. And albeyt I have acquyetted
 my assurance conseryng the Inquysicions of
 the lands appert my poore archbysshoprych yet
 such brutts and oppr sprongyn therof in thes parts that I
 am wery of undyrstand and here the same. Ther ys
 no thyng here lamentacion and mornyng not knowyng
 particularly what I pray God that I may be onys in re-

posse and may be had to my pore estat and old
 servycys b contynue yt wher ye may reduce all my
 thyngs and dexteryte to summe substanyall
 trayne and in your poore^a to make my lorde of Northfolke
 my I am moste desyrowa. And havynge such
 opportu to the Kyngs presens, ye may from
 tyme forthe my causys at the reverens of God . . .
 to your gret meryte a . . .
 laude . . . Ye have nowe the
 gret love and sele that ye
 wards and without sufferyng me for hevvy
 And fynally yo and peynys
 . . . shalbe fully
 But

The Correspondence relating to his College seems to have kept the hatred of Wolsey's enemies alive. In this respect it was perhaps unfortunate for him; for though the King, whilst Wolsey lived, took no public steps to continue the Foundation, he suffered it to stand, and evidently regarded it with kindness. The Courtiers feared that by producing a personal intercourse with the King, it might restore the Cardinal to favor.

LETTER CV.

John Briertonne to Mr. Tho. Wriothesley Clerk of the King's Council, reporting the Journey of his Master an English Ambassador, through France, with remarks upon the rigidness of search which was exercised in the time of Charles Vth. the Emperor, in Spain.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XIII. fol. 258. Orig.]

My dewtie moost humbly remembred, these shalbe moost humbly to doo you t'understande that my

^a power.

Maister with all the rest of his company have passed a long and a paynefull Journey in sautie without perishing of horse or man, thanks be to God, as through the realme of Fraunce by Lyons, and soo by Avinion,^a and from thens to a Castell in the borders of Spayne called Salsees, the strongest Castell (in myne opinion) in the World; and thence to Barsilona, and soo passed Catilone into Arragone, where we came into a Citie called Seragoza, where we were extremely handeled, as though we had been Jewes. All our cariage was had home to the serch house, where all my Master's apparail and the gentlemens, with the rest of the seruaunts were serched to th'uttermost. They made us to pay for all things that were unworne. There escaped not somoch as a dossen of points.^b They be the spitefullest people in the world. We could have no favor amongs them. My Master told hem that he wold pay no custume; for it was limited that every Ambassador shuld goo and come fre in all places christened. All that wold not help. He told them he wold ride in post to th'Emperor without his commission, and declare unto him, he being an Ambassador, after what sorte he was handeled. They answered therunto and saide, that if Christ or Sanct Fraunces came with all their flock they shuld not eskapec. Th'Emperes, but nowe of late, sent a Post to th'Emperor at Barsilona, with a litle Floure of silke, of her oune making, enclosed in a box, which she wold

^a Avignon.

^b tags.

have had conveyed secretly: and as sone as the Post to the said Seragosa was come, they came to serch him. He wold have given them a hundereth crownes to have passed uncerched. They would not under a thousande; and whenne they had sene it, the thinge itself was not worth a cople of ducketts. They set as much by th'Emperors Lettres as they doo by myne.

From thens we came to Castila where we be now; whiche we shall praise as we finde hereafter. We have founde it veray good hitherto.

At my Master accesse in post to this Towne th'Emperor caused his officers to dislodge a Countie^a for my Master, which is the fairest lodging in the Town next to th'Emperors.

Yesterday at after none th'Emperor sent for my Master, where he was gently entreteigned, nat with pompe and setting furth of himself, but with sobre and discrete words, like a wise man. Other newes we have none here worth the writing, but that. I pray God sende you muche worship, with good lief and long, to the pleassour of God. From Valedolide the xxijth. of June.

Your moost humble servant

JOHN BRIERTONNE.

To the right worshipful and my singuler good Mr. Mr. Thomas Wriothesley oon of the Clerks of the Kings moost honorable Signet.

^a. a Count.

LETTER CVI:

*Eleanor Countess of Rutland to the Lady Lisle; a
Letter of thanks and kindness.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 90. *Orig.*]

* * Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Paston of Paston in the County of Norfolk, knt. was the second wife of Thomas earl of Rutland.

MY verie good Lady, in my right hertie maner I recomende me unto your good Ladishipe, signifying the same that I have received frome youe, by maister Hussey, a Pipe of Gascoigne Wyne and two barrells of heringe, for the whiche and others your manyfold kindnes heretofore shewed I rendre unto youe my hertie thanks, assuring the same that if there be any pleasure that my Lorde or I can doo for youre ladi-shipe, here or elsewhere, ye shall have the same accomplished to the best we can accordingly. And where ye be verey desirous to have youre daughter maistres Basset to be oon of the Quene's Graces maids, and that ye wold I shuld move hir Grace in that behalf, thies shalbe to doo your Ladishipe to wite that I perceive right well the Kingis Highnes pleasure to be suche that no more Maids shalbe taken in, untill suche tyme as some of them that nowe be with the Quenes Grace

be preferred. Albeit if ye will make some meanes unto mother Lowe, who can doo asmoche good in this matier as any oon woman here, that she maye make some meanes to gete your said doughter with the Quenes said Grace: and in soo doing I think ye shall obtene your purpos in every behalf. And I for my partie shall doo the best I can to preserve here, for I wold be right glad thereof bothe for the greate honestie that is in hir. And thus our Lorde kepe your Ladishipe in helthe. At the Corte the xvij. daye of February.

Your Ladiships assured

ELYNOR RUTLAND.

To my very good Lady my Lady
Lislie her good Ladyshipp, these be
yeven.

LETTER CVII.

John Coke to Master Thomas Cromwell reporting a satyrical exhibition at Barrow reflecting on King Henry and Queen Anne.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA. B. X. fol. 40. Orig.]

* * The respect of the English nation for Anne Boleyn's memory is as Queen. The extraordinary distinction which was shewn to her as a

child brought her very early into notice. Lingard conceives that it alone gave rise to the tale that she was in reality Henry's own daughter by the lady Boleyn, a story which Cardinal Pole would not have failed to have told if it had been true. Henry's profligacy toward MARY, *the elder sister of Anne Boleyn*, he has not spared, but reproached him in his Treatise "*Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis defensione*," addressed to Henry himself, and written by his express desire, "first with seducing her, and then with retaining her as his mistress. The Work is rare; the reader shall be possessed of Pole's own words:

"Si uxorem idcirco reliquisses, quia legem tibi persuasisse nefarium illud et abominandum matrimonium pronunciare, an non maxime operam dares, ne te iterum tali matrimonio contaminares? an non ab iis personis penitus abstineres, quæ in eadem, ac deteriore etiam quam prior uxor, causa essent.—Quid ea, quam tute tibi in repudiatis locum consociasti, cujusmodi tandem est? *An non soror ejus est, quam tu et VIOLASTI primum, et diu postea CONCUBINÆ LOCO apud te habuisti?* ILLA IPSA est. Quomodo ergo nos doces, quam refugas ab illicitis matrimoniis? an tu hic legem ignorabas, (i. Cor. 6.) quæ non minus profecto vetat, *sororem te ejus ducere, cum qua ipse unum corpus factus sis, quam ejus cum qua frater?* SI UNA DETESTANDA EST, ALTERA ETIAM DETESTANDA."^b

The precise date of Henry's misconduct with MARY BOLEYN is not preserved.

ANNE must have returned to England about or before 1526. When Mary Queen of Louis the Twelfth came back as a widow, Anne went into the train of Claude Queen of Francis the First, where she remained till the rupture between the two kingdoms.

After the detail here given, the reader will not wonder that Cromwell should be informed that his Master was held in derision at Antwerp.

RIGHT honorable Sir, and my right syngulier and especiall good Maister, after moost humble recomendacions precedyng, as to your right honorable Maistership apperteyneth. It shall please the same to understonde

* —"in suis literis præcise imperavit, ut meam sententiam scripto testarer." Reg. Poli Apolog. at Car. V. super quatuor libris a se scriptis de Unitate Eccl. Edit. Brix. 1744. p. 70.

^b Reg. Pole ad Henr. VIII. Brit. Regem pro Eccles. Unitatis defensione Libri IV. fol. Rom. lib. iii. fol. lxxvii b.

howe that a naughty person of Andwarp resorted to this towne of Barowe this Pasche marte, with Images and Pictures in cloth to sell: among the which clothes he had the Picture of our soveraigne Lord the Kyng, (whom our Lorde preserve). And this day setting up the same Picture upon the Burse to sell, he pynned upon the body of the said Picture a Wenche made in cloth, holdyng a paier of balance in her hands; in th'one balance was fygured too hands to geder, and in th'other balance a fether, with a scripture over her head, sayng that Love was lighter then a fether, whereat the Spanyards and other of the Duche nacion had greate pleasure in deridyng, jestyng, and laughyng therat, and spekyng sondry opprobrious words ayenst his moost noble Grace and moost gracious Quene his bedfelow. Wherupon immediatly and with all diligence and haast possible (after I had knowleige therof) I resorted to the Scowte, borowmaisters, and skepyns of the said towne of Barowe, declaryng unto them the maner of this naughty person, and facion of the Spanyards and other, who, incontinent, sent for the said person, and examyned hym streightly therof, which excused hymself, allegyng that he meaned therby no hurt. Nevertheless he said that a certeyn Spanyard (to hym unknowen) desired hym to lette it stande, and he shuld be borne out: wherupon they commanded hym to commytte no suche like thyng eftsones upon payne of forfaiture of all his merchandises, and further

to be punyshed in exemple of other. And thus after my humble servys presented unto your moost honorable Maistership, with my daily praier, I lowly besече the Holy goost to sende the same th'accomplisshyng of your noble desires. Written at Barowe the xxijth day of May Anno xv^c. xxxiiijth.

by the hand of your moost humble servant

JOHN COKE, *Secretary unworthy to
the Merchants Adventurers.*

To Mast^r. Thomas Cromwell
of the Kyngs most honorable Cownsell
soit dd. at
London.

LETTER CVIII.

*Mathew Kyng to Thomas Cromwell, upon the raising
of the Siege of Coron by Andrew Doria.*

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. NERO. B. VII. fol. 91. Orig.]

* * This specimen of the foreign correspondence with Lord Cromwell acquaints us with the particulars of the relief of Coron by Andrew Doria, one of the greatest Sea-Captains of the sixteenth Century, who having quitted the French service in disgust in 1528, was now the Admiral of the fleet of Charles the Fifth.

Coron, one of the most ancient towns of the Morea, had been taken from the Venetians by Bajazet the Second in 1500; and by Doria from the Turks in 1532. Doria quitted it in 1534, that it might not be an obstacle to his negotiations with the Sultan. Coron, in the sixteenth Century, from its situation, was considered a place of great defence.

In Venys the 1 day of October an^o 1533.

RYGHT worshipfull Syr, my dewty consyryng^a in most humble wyse I recommede me unto yowr goodnes, ever more desyryng to herof^b yowr good welfare whiche I pray Jhesu long to contynewe unto his pleasure. Moreover plesyth yt yowr Mastership to have onderstanding of the newis here in thes parties: as upon the Fryday the xij. day of August last the Turks Armado was before Coron; by water lxj. galy and xx. foysts,^c and by lond xij.M. men of armes Turks. And the same Fryday Androwe Dory come to geve socours to yt with xxvj. galyes and xxiiij. ships, and fought with Turks with ther ordenaunce, in so moche the Crysten men slew of the Turks xvj. or xvij.C. and ther was not slayne of Crysten not xx. persons: this persevyng the Turks, that thay wayr so sore beten with ordenance, fled toward Muddowne, and in fleyng thay met with ij. of Doryes ships that was behynd ther ffelows, and the Turks toke on of them, and the other wolde not yelde. This seyng Dory, he retornyd agayne, but with ix. of his Galyes, and rescuyd the ship that was not taken, and toke her agayn that was taken, with ij.C. Turks in her, and then with all his ships and galyes wentt and geve socours to Coron, vytell for ij. yere with ordenaunce and all other necessaries. Now this seyng the Campe of the Turks by lond, that the galyes and foysts ware fled, in lyke

^a considering.

^b hear of.

^c a pinnace or little ship.

maner thay fled lyke bests, and left ther ordenaunce
 and vytells behynd them ; which Androwe Dory had,
 all pesably : and so Dory remaynyd in Coron v or vj.
 dayes to fet ord^s.^a and put in wages iiij.M. men of
 armes, and then departyd with his ships and galyes,
 and went back agayn to Myssyna. This is all that
 has ben done this Somer in this parties. Other newis
 I have none to wrytt unto yow Mastership, but that
 ther ys great deth in Constantynople. No more unto
 yowr Mastership at this tyme, but that I pray Jhesu
 save yowr lyfe in helth and prosperite long to endure.
 Amen. Wrytten ut supra

By yow^r servaunt and
 trew bedman

MATHEW KYNG.

Al multo mag^{co}. Domino
 M. Tomaso Cromwell
 in
 London.

^a ordenance.

LETTER CIX.

*Lord James Butler to Mr. Rob. Cowley in London,
censuring the conduct of the Earl of Kildare, then
Lord Deputy, and others, in Ireland.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. XI. fol. 406. Orig.]

I HAVE receyved your Letters and am right glad of the bringing to light of suche matters as was falsly surmysed and reaported of my Lord Prive Seall in this land; whiche to prove, ye knowe that I ernystly indeworid myselfe, as to my dwetie dud appertaine.

My Lord Deputie is the Erle of Kildare newly borne againe, not oonly in distruyng of thoos that alway have servid the Kinges Majestie, but also in mayntenynge the hole secte, band, and aliaunce of the said Erle, after so vehement and so cruell a sorte as the like hath not been seen to be bydden by.

O Connor, that evyr hath bene the oonly scourge of the Englishe pale, who hath married the erle of Kildares doghter, is his right hand; and who but he.

O Karroll, now called Farganany, that hath married the said Erles other doghter, and was alway the conductor of the traictor Thomas Fitzgerald to the Irishrie, is now in favor with him, noo man like, nexte O Connor;

insomouche that he hath lately sent his houshold servants and his awne company with the said Farganym to beseige the Castell of Byrr, whiche, as you knowe, is my lord my fathers inheritans; like as the Erle of Kildare did at the begenyng of his rebellion.

My said Lord Deputie hath promeysid to geve to the said Farganym (as he affermeth) Rossocree and the Nenaghe whiche hath been thees viij^{xx}. yeres in Irishmen is possession, unto suche tyme as my lord my father recoverid the same, by reason of the Kinges Majesties graunte to him therof, oute of the said Irishmens handes nowe of late. I wolde he went aboute to recover Englishmens possessions oute of Irishmens handes as earnestly as he doth practys to kepe and defend the same in the said Irishmens handes.

O Neile, th'erle of Kildares kynnysman and chiefe band, who alway aswell in my lord of Northfolkes tyme, being the Kinges Lieutenaunt, as also in Sir William Skeffington is tyme. being his Graces Deputie, was the scourge that the said Erle had upon the bordores of Mith and Uriell, when the said Erle wolde procure him to styrr, is nowe mouche made of by my said Lord Deputie; insomouche that he doth promeys to bringe him to Dublin to bere the swerde afore him, as he did before the Erle of Kildare. What followed therof I nede not to tell you, &c.

Kedaghe roo and his brethrin the late O Mores sonnes, who assaulted me and after murdrid my

brother Thomas, nowe of late hath prayd the lordship of Owghter-Inn, xx. myle within the English pale, having noo more company but viijth horssmen, and parte of my Lord Deputies servaunts who comaunded the gentlemen of the Countie of Kildare in my Lord Deputies name to suffre the said O Mores sonnes to passe by, and not to medle with them, when they were in a full redenens to rescue the said prey; wherof my lord Deputie had xx kyne, Stephen Appare x kyne, and Edmund Archebold son of ther guydes ij kyne. The said Kedaghe and his brethrin were Thomas Fitzgeraldes mynons, and none like them in effect aboute him, and were drawen to robbe the Inglishe pale then, like as they are nowe.

Nowe of late my lord my father, taking with him O More that nowe is, to Dublin, by vertue of my Lord Deputies letters, who was chosen by my said Lord Deputie, the Kinges Majesties Comysioners, and the Counsaill, to be chiefe Capitaine of Leys, and have taken his landes of the Kinges Highnes by certain services accordingly, there was taken, and moost cruelly intreated by my said Lord Deputie; so that my said father have had suche rebuyke therby throughte all this land, and also have taken the same so to hart that not regarding his age and debilitie of body all his frendes scarcely could stay him from going to the Kinges Majestie to complayne of all the premyssis, thoo he shuld be carried thether in a horse littere.

There is noo thinge so unjoste or so wrongfull but our Deputie here, for the favor whiche he berith to the Geraldyns, other for kyne or mony, wolde accepte, suffer, and allave^a the same.

To be playne with you, like as Counte Duruse in Flandres when the peace was concluded betwene the Emperor and the Frenche Kyng by Monseur Dubure lieutenaunt to the Emperor, and others of the Emperors Counsaill, whiche peace the said Counte Duruse thought to be against his Maisters honnor, dud promeys not to put harneys evyr on his bakke under the said Lieutenaunt, unto suche tyme as he had seen the Emperor; so likewise do I promeys, as thus adwisid, withoute I be comaunded by the Counsaile who can not ruele my Lord Deputie any thing in this matter, not to put harneys on my bakke under him, my duetie alway unto his rome and auctoritie oonly exceptid, unto suche tyme as I se the Kinges Highnes or knowe his Majesties pleasure by my Lord Privie Seale, to whos good lordship I am ashamed to write, seing I have not at this tyme his mony redde to be sent to his lordship; but God willing I woll make bessye shifte to send the said mony in haste unto him with all possible deligence. I wold rather wishe me to be at Jerusalem, soner then his Lordship shuld conjectur or fynde in me any pointe of untrouth in that or in any thinge else willingly.

^a allow.

I do not thus complayne withoute twoo greate a cause, for there is none of all my servauntes that walkes the kinges strete of Dublin, but is quarrelled withall by my Lord Deputies servauntes, in calling my lord my father and me Trautors; which were it not the rome that he is yn, both he and they shuld be sone answerid; but the treasone woll be founde where it hathe bene alwayes.

Allas that the chiefe Justice, the Maister of the Rolles, and You ar not here for the space of iiij. dayes; and there againe to se howe the worlde goes, our Governor thretnes every man after suche a tyrannyus sorte as no man dar speke or repungne reasonably against his appetite, more then I or any other true Christen man durst speke against the Bishshope of Rome's usurped auctorytie yf we were there; of whose Secte he is chief and principall in this land, albeit ther is noo thinge so apparante but he wold denye, &c.

My lord my Father as yet is not retorned from Dublin, and as I am enformed your sonn Walter is gone over with letters from him and others of the Counsaill to my lord Privie Seale; what the tennor of them or of his instruccions is I do not know as yet.

To conclude, yf all Irland shuld devise to enfeble the Englishrie of this land, and by a meane under color of indyfferencye to streinthen the Irishrie, they could not imagyne or put the same in effecte more ernyst then my Lord Deputie nowe doth, and, thrughe comforte

of him, O Neill callith for his blake rent in Mith and Uriell, Mc Morrow in the Counties of Kilkeny and Wexford, and this newe O Karroll in the Countie of Tiperarie moost of all, by reason that my said Lord Deputie did put downe the last O Karrolls sonnes that servid the Kinges Highnes in the Rebellion and at all other tymes. He hath trodden them under fote to strength the said Farganany, the erle of Kildare's sonn in lawe, which O Karrolls sonnes were ever a yokke in his neke wherby he could not hitherto styrr oute of his awne Countre to do any Englishmen hurt. So that my lord my Father and I, because he is mayntained and borne by my said Lord Deputie dare scarcely resist him in the distruyng of Ormond, or for the taking of the said blake rentes whiche by parliament is restrayned to be any further payd by any of the Kinges subjectes.^a

I pray you to have me moost hartilly recomendid to myne awne good Lord Privie Seale, to whom I am moost bonden of any erthly creator aldernexte the Kinges Majestie; and to oppen unto his lordship all the matters forsaid at length to be declarid unto the Kinges Highnes for my discharge in that behalfe, and thus fare you hertily well, from Kilkeny the xx day of Junii.

If the Boke whiche is put yn by syxe Cardinales in

^a Black-Rent, was a payment made to the powerful Irish chieftains to purchase their protection; and was considered by them as a recognition of their ancient sovereignty. See *Lel. Hist. Irel.*

Rome against the abuse of the Church or Congregation of Rome be put in prente there, I pray you send me oon of them, having me hertilly recomended to my good lord of Worchester whos good lordshipe will send me the same or some other good wurkes yf you put him in remembraunce of the same.

Your awne

JAMES BUTLER.

LETTER CX.

John Mason at Valladolid, to Thomas Starkey at Padua, A. D. 1535. Observations made in Spain. News from England. More and Fisher committed to the Tower. Execution of the Holy Maid of Kent, &c.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XIII. fol. 327. Orig.]

My assurid frind, I commend me hartly to you. Sir in my last Letters I wrote somewhat of length of the manner and fasshon of thys Contray, as myche as a strawnger might. I do nothing more diligently than note and marck every cite, hyll, filde, and specyally sicke as olde authorys, Romaines, make mentyon off; as Saltus Castulonensis, Sagunthus, Numantia, Char-

tago nova, Bilbilis, Hispania citerior and ulterior, how they be devidid; with many other; whereof the moste part I have sein, and the rest as shortly as occasion shall coom, I wyll.

Here be many Cyties, butt nother great nor peopled, nother yett goodly buyldid, notwithstanding that in every of them here and there you shall finde goodly howsis. The people be tractable i noweghe and gentyll whan we have nothing to doo wyth them, *domi parci, foris voraciss.* Freers and Moncks be in great reverence, to whome only itt is lawfull to speke with a mannis wife alone. Vitaylls be of a competent pryce: all other things as cloth, lether, books, &c. be unresonable dere. We be departyd from Tolledo, whyche is the metropolitan of Castilla, th'Archbisshop whereof may dispende 80,000 ducats by yere. This is off all Castylla the hed towne and best peoplid; and famowse by resonn of the river Tagus which ronnith by itt: but itt is the paynefullist towne that ever mann duellyd in. Itt is through so up hyll and downe hyll. Here master Embassador lost the stuard of his Howse, ij. mules of 100 ducats a pece, and a mule of 60 ducats. From thens th'Emperor removid 25^o Maij, driven from thens by reson of the unresonable hets that there be, and is come to Valladolid, 300 myle nere unto Englund. Whereas Imperatrix, within vj. days after hir entrans, *obortiit fetum mas-*

culum, to the great displeur of th'Emperor and all in Spayne. Mr. Embassador tooke his journey strayt from Tolledo to Valladolid. Th'Emperor made a grete progress before he cum there, and I, for certayne besines, followyd the Cowrt, and saw by the way many sumptuous receyvings of th'Emperor in to Townes and Cyties. And among all on Duke, callid el Duque de Alva, receyvid him in to his Howse, and the space of iiij. dayes fownde hym and all his Cowrt (which was estemid at 4000 parsons) horsmet and mannismete. And to me was deliver'd for th'Embassador of Ingland, every day, ij. shepe with all manner off other things inogh for forty men, notwithstanding that I tolde them that th'Imbassador was not in the towne. From thens he went to Salamanca. This is a great Universitie, conteyning seven or eight thowsand Students, all in manner studiing Law; all other lerning they sett nowght by, notwithstanding that dayly there be red all the vij. Scyences, with Latin and Greek competently well. There th'Emperor hard disputations, whiche was '*Utrum liceat Christiano Principi per bellum vindicare injuriam illatam Amico,*' and was defended *quod sit*.

Of Ingland lityll tydings cum to us but as *medicamenta go in pulmones*. They be almost in all the worlde before they com hither. *Papam non agnoscimus*. That I am sure you know. Every man swere

now *in verba Regis et Reginae; qui nolunt, TURBITI statim fiunt.*^a *Inter quos sunt ter maximus ille MORUS et ROFFENSIS,*^b and many other. As for th'execution

^a committed to the Tower.

^b "MORUS et ROFFENSIS:" Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher: whose subsequent fate after a lengthened imprisonment, every reader is acquainted with.

Cardinal Pole has given an account of Sir THOMAS MORE's coming from the Tower to his trial truly affecting:

"Quin illud libenter scire velim, quibus oculis, quibus auribus hæc quæ jamdudum narro, de condemnatione et supplicio Mori, vel audire cum referrentur, vel eum fierent aspicere potueris. Sed tu potius Londinensis civitas, cujus in conspectu hæc gerebantur, cum e carcere eductum ad causam majestatis dicendam videres eum; ad cujus tribunal aliquanto ante reos majestatis sisti memineras: quem tu puerum, adolescentem, virum, ingravescente denique ætate per omnes honorum gradus summa cum laude et omnium gratulatione propter rarissimas ejus virtutes processisse, et tandem ad amplissimum munus conscendisse videras, et quia civis idem et alumnus tuus erat, non sine tacto quodam gaudii sensu videras, quod in eo laudem tuam ac decus agnosceres: cum eundem e carcere sordidatum, ac reum exeuntem, non tam annorum numero quam CARCERIS PEDORE et MOLESTIA SENEM JAM FACTUM (tunc enim primum canum in conspectum tuum carcer exhibuit) toto corpore, viribus fractis, debilitatum, cum scipioni innitens, et sic etiam vis ægrum corpus sustentans, non tam ad causam dicendam, quam AD CERTAM CONDEMNATIONEM, longissima et maxime celebri via potius TRAHERETUR quam IRET: quibus hæc oculis aspiciebas? Quid cum eadem via jam condemnatum ut proditorum penas lueret, redeuntem videbas, cujus fides erga te nullo nec præmio nec supplicio ostentato potuerat expugnari, quibus oculis aspiciebas? Nempe lachrimantibus scio. Nec enim certe aliter fieri potuit, cum videam ALIENISSIMOS etiam HOMINES, qui eum nunquam noverant, nunquam ab eo beneficium acceperant, tantum dolerent ex ejus morte accepiisse, ut cum quæ de ea re scripta circumferuntur legerent lachrimas tenere non potuerint: sed ut si suum civem ac de se optime meritum, crudelissimè et iniquissimè necatum audirent, ita Moro homini externo, neque alla re quam fama sibi notè illachrimaverint. Ac mihi plane, tanto intervallo, hæc de illius morte scribenti, qui non tam multas privatim amoris causas cum eo habui, sed virtutis potius et probitatis ergo, quodque patriæ utilissimum esse scirem eum amavi et colui; sic tamen (testis est mihi Deus) invito lachrimæ oboriebantur, ut scriptionem maxime impedirent, et ipsas sæpe literas delerent, ut vix ultra progredi possem." Poli pro defens. Eccles. Unitatis, fol. xciii.

More was beheaded July 6th, 1536. Fisher had suffered in the month of June.

Hall says, "Also the xxii. day of the same moneth JHON FYSSHER bishop of Rochester was beheaded, and his head set upon London bridge. This bishop was of very many meene lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning; and a man of very good life, but therein wonderfully deceived, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme Head of the Church, and very maliciously refused the Kyng's tytle of Supreme Head. It was sayd that the Pope, for that he held so manfully with him, and stood so stify in his cause, did elect him a Cardinal, and sent the Cardinales hat as farre as Caleys, but the head it should have stand on, was as high as London Bridge or over the hat should come to Bishop Fysher, and then it was too late, and therefore he neither ware it nor enjoyed his office."*

Baker, the Cambridge antiquary, has preserved a portion of a Letter from Thomas

* Hall, edit. 1548. Hen. VIII. fol. cxxxvi.

of the holy Made of Kent with doctor Bocking &c. I am sure you have hard, if not sende me worde and I wyll wryte it at length.

What end this Tragedy wyll com to God wot. If that may be callid a Tragedye *quæ inceperit a nuptiis*. As *Gallina* hath bin the cause of all, so for the defense thereof, *uni Gallo fidimus, qui si avolaverit ut est avis satis inconstans ve solis, diu differri bellum non pot.* I cowlde wright yow many things, butt I must remember myne offyce.

Doctor Roper is ded and his prebende in Fredeswyds hath M. Butler. Doctor Sydrac is lykewyse gon; and his prebende I wolde I hadd.

Omnia jam licent Anglis quæ libent. They have played as the ignorant preist off my contrey, whiche

Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Sir William Fitz Wylliam, and Edward Fox, the English ambassadors in France, to King Henry the Eighth, dated June 12th, 1588, relating to the *HAT intended for Fisher*; * which will not be unacceptably preserved here, as the original, formerly in the Cottonian MS. Calig. D. xii. fol. 261. was burnt in the fire at Westminster.

"Finally the said Machon writeth that he, expostulating with the Bishop of Rome for that he had made the Bishop of Rochester a Cardinall, knowing him to be the person whom your Grace favored not, and had moost worthely deserved your Grace's highe indignacion; the said Bishop of Rome answered, that he had not doon it for any displeasure unto your Highnes, but only for that he thought him for his singular lerning and good lyving to be a personne most mete to be present in the General Counsaill, there to have his ayde and assistance in suche doubts as might arise."

The treatment of Fisher's lifeless body, immediately after his execution, is dwelt upon by Pole. "Itaque cum post carceris miseriam, quindecim mensium spatio perpassam, produci eum fecisset, capite plecti jussit. Nec vero hoc satis, nisi MORTUI CORPUS omni contumeliâ objiceret, quod NUDUM PROBUS in loco suppelicti ad spectaculum populo relinqui mandaverat, ad quod nemo accedere audebat tyranni metu, præter eos qui contumeliæ causa accederent, vel qui mortuo indumenta detraxerant." Apolog. ad Car. V. Imperat. p. 96.

* MS. Harl. Baker, 7090. p. 206.

wolde not suffer the name of Satanas in the Masbook, butt strake itt owte and putt God in the place of itt, and so made '*abrenuncio Deo et omnibus operibus ejus.*'

Here is miche provision for all things toward war, as harnes, and wepins of all sorts; *in Mare Britannicum solvere. Octavo Junii tres Legati ab Imperatore:* whether to go non man can tell, nor they wolde shew any man. But conjecture is, that on went to Englund, a nother to Ireland, and the thirde to Denmarcke.

Two Marchaunts browght hyther off lat a follishe booke agaynst the Pope and war taken therewith, and there goodds all confiskyd, and theyr bodyes in dawnger off burning, if we had not made for them great frinds and intreatance. This fare yow well from Valadolid 3^d Julij.

By your sure powre frind

JHON MASON.

D. Thomæ Starkeyo Anglo, Paduæ.

To my sure frinde M. Thomas

Starquey in the hows off Mr.

Pole in Padua.

LETTER CXI.

Richard Layton to Lord Cromwell, from himself and his associates, upon his Visitation of the University of Oxford. A. D. 1535.

[MS. COTTON. FAUSTINA. C. VII. fol. 205. Orig.]

PLEASIT your Goodnes to be advertisyde that in Magdalen Colege we fownde stablisshe one Lecture of Divinitie, two of Philosophie one morale another naturale, and one of Laten tonge, well kept and diligently frequented. To these we have adjonede a Lecture in the Greke; that is, the Grammer in Greke perpetually to be rede there, and all the yewthe thereunto to have confluence for ther principull. In New Colege we have stablisshe two Lecturrs publike, one of Greke an other in Laten, and have made therfore for evermore an honeste salarie and stipende. In All Sowllen Colege we have in lyke maner stablisshe two Lectures, one of Greke an other in Laten, with a goode stipende and salarie therunto assignide for ever. In Corpus Christi Colege we fownde two Lecturrs stablisshe by the founder, one in Greke another in Latten, publike for all men thereunto to have concourse. We have further stablisshe a Lecture in Laten tonge, publike, in Marten Colege; and an

other in Qwenes Colege; and have assignede and made a sufficient stipende for either of thes for evermore. Bicawse we fownde all other the Colegeis not able in londs and revenewis to have within them lecturs publique, as the other afore rehersed hathe, we have in-jonede the saide poire Colegeis that they, and evere of them, shall frequent and have dayly concourse unto the said Lecturs. *Pœnam imposuimus* to every scoler within the Universitie not heryng at the leste one of thes Lecturs. For that day that he shalbe absent from one of the said Lecturs to be punissede in the losse of his commons for that day, the said paine evere day *totiens quociens absens fuerit nisi concurrenti causa aliqua legitima, approbanda tamen per Præpositum Collegii sive Aulae.*

We have sett Dunce^a in Bocardo, and have utterly banisshede hym Oxforde for ever, with all his blind glosses, and is now made a comon servant to evere man, faste nailed up upon postes in all common howses of easment. *Id, quod oculis meis vidi.* And the seconde tyme we came to New Colege, after we hade declarede your Injunctions we fownde all the gret quadrant Court full of the leiffs of Dunce, the wynde blowyng them into evere corner; and ther we fownde one Mr. Grenefelde a gentilman of Bukyng-hamshire getheryng up part of the said bowke leiffs (as he saide) there to make him sewells or blawnsherrs to

^a Dun Scotus.

kepe the dere within the woode, thereby to have the better cry with his howndes.

We have also in the place of the canon lecture joned a civel lectur to be rede in evere Colege hale^a and In.

We have further, in visitynge the religiouse students, amongyste all other Injunctions adjoynd that none of them, for no maner cause, shall cum within any Taverne, Inn, Ale-house, or any other Howse what so ever hit be, within the towne and the suburbs of the same, upon payne onse so taken by day or by night to be sent imediatly home to his Cloister whereas he was professed. Without doubte we here say this acte to be gretly lamentede of all the duple honeste women of the Towne, and specially of ther Laundes that now may not onse entre within the gaitts, and muche lesse within ther chambers, wherunto they were ryght well accustomed. I doubte not but for this thyng onely the honeste matrones will sew unto yowe for a redresse. Other thyngs moo wiche ys to tedious and long to conceive by wrytyng we have done, wiche all I shall declare unto yowe at my cummyng. This Sonday by nyght we shall make an ende for all. This day we repaire to Colageis for the redresse of division and complaintt. put unto us. To morowe by vij. of the Cloke in the mornyng I wilbe in the Chapitre Howse at Abyngton, and I truste to bring yow the trewthe of evere thyng for that Howse; and thereof doubte ye

^a hall.

not. On Wedinsday, by nyght at utermoste, I truste to be with yowe at Winchestre, Gode willyng, who sende yowe as goode helthe as your hert desierith. We fynde here all men applyng and glade to accomlishe all thyngs. From Oxforde thys Sondag the xijth. day off Septembre by your moste assurede poire preste and servant

RYCHARDE LAYTON.

To the ryght honorable Mr.
Thomas Cromwell, cheffe Se-
cretarie to the Kyngs Hyghnes.

LETTER CXII.

William Pepwell to King Henry the Eighth. Intelligence concerning the Emperor, Barbarossa, &c.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XIII. fol. 262. Orig.]

. This Letter is interesting, inasmuch as it is from an Agent of the English government in *private correspondence* with his Sovereign. He informs the King that he had written two Letters to Mr. Secretary "of that that he thought needful;" names the arquebuss as an improvement in artillery which was coming into fashion; and records the desire of Charles the Fifth to create a force of cavalry.

The act of perfidy proposed at the close of this Letter, shows how little scrupulous Henry the Eighth was believed to be, by those who served him, in attaining any purpose.

PLEASE hit youre moost exelent Highnes of your most abundante grace to understand that sens my

comyng yn to thys parties I have wrytyn ij. Lettres unto M. Secretary of that me thoght nydfull.

And lyke your Grace here ys cum newys from the Cowrt how th'Emperor wulbe at Sevyll shortly after Crystmas, and the Emperatrys also, and thens to Barsalona, and so unto Ytalya. He hathe a makyng a hondrythe new Galeys they say, to be redy by Aperell; muche ordenaunce ys com hether owt of Flaunders, and muche pepull comaundyd to be in a redynes. They do occupy her now moost part Arcubosys, wiche gyvythe doble the strok of a hand gon: ther ys many com hether owt of Byskay, and Mores pyks.

Also and lyke your Highnes all this Contrethe stondythe great feyr of Barba Roxa. He hathe a bove a hondrethe Galeys yn a redynes. He is now in Tunys wich ys the hed plase of Kyngdon of Mores^a that he hath takyn sens he cam from the Turk. So all the Kyngdom ys hys. He ys lyke to do sum harm thys summer.

The Emperor hathe made a act that no man shall ryd a pon no mewlys nor haknes withe sadells a pon a great payn, to the yntent to have in tyme cumyng many horsemen.

Her be ij. bretheryn that dwelt in Lymeryk; they be the Emperors servaunts. They mys use themselves agaynst your Highnes, as I am yn formyde. Yf I can,

^a the Kingdom of the Moors.

I wull make them a banket a bord on of Shipys
 Brystow, and, yf they cum ther, the shall land no
 more yn Spayn. Other, at the present, I have not to
 wryt your moost noble Grace but [by] the shipis of
 Bristow, God wylling, I wull com hom, and to your
 good Grace suche pore serves as in me lyeth; restyng
 dayly prayng to Almyghty God for the prosperous pre-
 servacyon of youre moost noble a[nd] royall estate.
 Wrytyn yn Sant Lucas on saynt Stevyn's day.

Youre Graces pore servaunt

WYLLYAM PEPWELL.

Un to the Kyngs most exelent
 Highnes.

LETTER CXIII.

*Archbishop Cranmer to King Henry the VIIIth.,
 chiefly concerning Reginald Pole, who afterwards
 succeeded him in the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.*

[HARL. MS. 787. fol. 18.]

* * Pole makes a beautiful use of Æsop's fable of the Sick Lion and the Fox, when Henry, affecting not to be displeased with, but half convinced by his Work upon The Unity of the Church, invited him to England to communicate further on the points which it concerned, and to explain certain passages in it which his Majesty had found obscure and difficult. Pole was upon his guard against the insidious invitation, and remained in Italy. For once, the King was disappointed of his victim. In the Letter immediately before the Reader the Invitation is mentioned as report only: Pole's own words shall form the comment.

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“Quamquam ille quidem in literis voluntatem suam dissimulare volebat, non minus quam apud Æsopum in fabula Leo, qui se ægrotum in antro simulabat, ut reliqua minora animalia, quæ ad eum visendi causa ingrederentur, minori labore devoraret. Inter quæ cum postremo vulpes ab eo accersita ad ostium usque specus venisset, et ibi, ut narrat fabula, subisteret, Leo inreptans ejus diffidentiam, sic eam postmodum, ad ingressum invitavit, cum diceret, se ægrotum valde esse, et ob hanc causam illam accersivisse, quod ejus consilio præ cæteris fideret; quare propius accederet, nec dubitaret ingredi. Eodem prorsus modo Rex mecum in suis literis satis benignis verbis egit, cum diceret, non sibi displicere quæ scripsi, sed quia de rebus maximi momenti scripta erant, et in magna controversia positæ, difficile esse per absentis scripta ea plene percipere; coram hæc melius explicari posse. Quare hortari et jubere, ut ad se quam primum venirem, libenter me auscultaturum. Hæc quidem in literis, quæ minime difficilem interpretationem ejus voluntatis præbuerunt: præsertim cum in reliquis ejus actis, quæ gravem illam quasi naturæ crism sequebantur, nihilo mitiorem factum eum audirem, nullum alleviati morbi signum viderem: vidissem autem quæ in fabula vulpem ab ingressu deterrebant vestigia illorum, qui vel sponte, vel accersiti ad eum in antrum accessissent, *ut OMNIA AVERSA, nulla RETRO essent CONVERSA*. Quæ me satis admonebant, ni imprudenter bruto haberi vellem, et quid sperare, et quid facere deberem.” Apolog. ad Car. V. Imperat. p. 77.

PLEASETH it your Grace to be advertised that I have receyved News out of Rome, from one named John Bianket a Bononois borne, sometyme my servant, & now servant unto the Cardinall which was late Bishop of Worcester, & more privy with him of all Secrets than any other about him. And amonge other thinges thus he writeth.

“The Pope hath called hither many Prelats for matters concerning the Counsell, amonge whom is Mr. Raynold Pole made much of, & much sett by, & receyved of the Pope himselfe very gladly. And because the saying is that the King had sent for him

home into England and desired him, and promised him alsoe great thinges if he would come, or at the least if that he would not goe to Rome, He now is come hither, not regarding the Kings desire, promise, nor threats. And here men doe esteeme & thinke surely that the Pope will make him Cardinal, & now he hath given him lodgings for himselfe within the Palace, & will have him neare him. And amonge these great men that be here for this matter, the selfe same Raynold Pole is here truly most esteemed & most sett by of all. And doubtles they be all singular fellowes, & such as ever absented themselves from the Court, desiring to lyve holly. As the Bishop of Verona, the Bishop of Chieta, the Archbishop of Salerne, the Bishop of Carpentras otherwise called Sadoletus, & many other that now be here for to consult these matters of the Counsell, the which I cannot see how it can goe forward as longe as the matters of warre kindled between the Princes are unquenched, without whom it is like that it cannot goe forward. Nevertheless there be sent Messengers to intimate the Counsell thorough Christendome, leaving you apart, to whom they will intimate it there in writing & in citacions. Fryer Denis which wrote on the kings side, being now Generall of the Religion, cometh as Embassador from the Pope towards the Kinge of Scotts. The Emperour is now in Genoa; and many Princes, specially the Duke of Florence goe to see him, & to shew themselves gladd, that he is

arrived there safe & in good health, which chanced but to a few Gentlemen, which be allmost all sicke. There is intreaty made for peace all that may be, and it seemeth that the Frenchmen have good hope therein, for they have left of warre, & have noe more men in Italy now, but Guido Rangone his men & those of Turin, which as yett they hold with certaine other Castles. And the Pope is fervent & hott in intreating of this Peace."

Here have I written the very wordes of the Letter as I did translate them out of Italian into English as neare as I could word for word, which I can doe noe less then signifye unto your Highnes, forsomuch as there be some thinges concerning the Generall Counsell, & Mr. Raynold Pole, whereof I thought it my duty to give notice unto your Grace. And thus I beseech the mighty Lord of Lords to strengthen & preserve your Grace ever, & to resist & suppress all your Highness adversaries with your Rebells & untrue Subjects. At Knoll the 18th. day of November.

Your Graces most humble

chaplaine & beadisman,

T. CANTUARIEN.

To the Kings Highnes.

LETTER CXIV.

Henry Montagué to Secretary Cromwell desiring his protection, upon the Death of his father-in-law Lord Bergavenny Euridge.

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 108. Orig.]

* * George Lord Bergavenny, the subject of the ensuing Letter, died in the 27th Hen. VIIIth. A.D. 1535. Thomas Nevill, who signs this Letter, was brother to this Lord; and H. Nevill his son and heir, was summoned to Parliament in the 3^d and 4th. Edw. VIth. he afterwards sat in judgement upon the Queen of Scots. *

PLESITH hyt you to understand that wher hit hath bene the wyll of God to call to hys mercy, this present Sunday in the mornyng about ij of the cloke my father in lawe the lord Bergevenny, who allways in his tyme trustyd you above all men, and that in the ende of his lyff apperyd unto us manifestly, for then he comunyd of you saying that he was well assuryd of you, so that I and my two uncles shulde have your lawfull favor in executyng his wyll And that you shulde not thynke he dyd forgett you, he remembryd you with this tokyna of golde, dissyryng you to be good unto my Lord his son, the whach ys the Kynges ward, and shalbe at his

* See Dugd. Bar. tom. i. p. 310, 311.

Graces commaundement whan yt shall plese his Grace,
as knowith God who have you in his keepyng From
Eurydge within the forest of Waterdown

Yours assuryd

HENRY MONTAGUE.

Your own

T. NEVYLE.

Yours hastily assuryd

H. NEVYLL.

To the right worshippfull Mr.
Secretary to the Kynges Highnes,
be this delivered.

LETTER CXV.

*Edmund Harvel from Venice, to Dr. Starkey. News
respecting the Emperor and affairs in Italy.*

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. VII. fol. 100. Orig.]

. Of Edmund Harvel, the writer of this Letter, the Editor has not discovered any Account. In a Letter to Dr. Starkey, dated Venice, 7th April 1635, he says, "I was made to Mr. Winter" (Walsey's natural son) "for his friendly mynde toward me, as I understande by Mr. Farmer, advancing me gretely to Mr. Cromewell. I pray you in my name to give him grette thanks for his handwrit, of the wiche I will have perpetual memorye."

MR. STARKEY I have writen unto you sens my re-
torne twies, advising yow of soche newis as hath ben

eccorent. By the last post owt of England I marvel that from yow and other we had not Lettres. Mr. Pole is continual in writing of his work, and that with extreme studye wiche brekith him moche, specially in thes sharpe coldes wiche hath raignid her many daies. By al the next monith I stime^a that his labor shal take end, and by my opinion ther came not soche a thing abroad as this shalbe in owr daies; for be you assurid that Mr. Pole hath grete vertu and eloquence, with prudence and judgement, as no man that levith more.^b And I dowt not but his writing shalbe both grateful and also admirable to al vertuous men, and specially unto you who delitith of him so moche, as I am perswaded yow do.

To come to the wordly^c besines, th'Emperor by al the present departith for Rome with a grete nombre of men, and wil entre in Rome *habitu triumphali*. He preparith a grete Navye of Galeis, 100; and many ships; as also an hoste of xl. M. to passe into Africke

^a esteem.

^b Cardinal Pole in the Defence, which he addressed to the Emperour Charles the Fifth, of his work "de Ecclesiastica Unitate," confesses his obligations to Henry the VIIIth. for his education. His mother, as will be seen hereafter, was the preceptress to the Princess Mary.

"Scribo enim, Caesar, contra Regem Angliæ, qui sum ipse Anglus, contra eum Regem, quocum me sanguine natura conjunctum esse voluit, et quem propter ipsius indolem, quam olim præ se tulit, æ propter nonnulla ejus in me beneficia tali amore ac veneratione prosequutus sum, ut nemo unquam hominem magis amaverit, nemo Principem majori pietate et observantia coluerit; *cujus liberalitate et cura me fateor habere quod scribere possum*, quod literas noverim, qui me solum ex NOBILITATIS ANGELICÆ in literis educendum et instituendum curavit." Apolog. p. 67.

^c worldly.

ayenst Alger, Barbarossa's towne, kept with 3000 men, as the voyce is published: albeit ther is suspicion of other besines. The French Kings practises with Venecians hath bene right grete with inestimable promesses; but thes men stondith strongly for th'Emperor as farre as it is knowen. They have no monye for the use of ware;^a and to beginne without a good ground they will not do lightly. It is trowth that they are insupportable to see the State of Milan in th'Emperors hands.

Her is grete suspicion of the French King; but now in Italye he hath litil frendship; for al the hedds except only Venecians are imperial. The Duke of Florence shal marye the Emperors dawghter. Florentins hath provid^b in wayne to recover ther libertye of th'Emperor with grete condicions. Of the Concel her is litil mention. It is thowght the Turke shold at the present be in Const^{ple}, but of that is no certainte: but the fame is very constant of the grete ruyne he had lately of the Sofi.

I pray yow salute me most entierly to myne honorable masters. And of my mony, *habeas, rogo te, rationem ut mihi aliquando persolvatur*. This Turks absēce hath uttirly decaid this towne for lacke of doings. Cesse not to write perpetually, for ther is nothing more

^a war.^b tried.

pleasant to us then your Lettres. Bene vale. In
Venice the 18 Januarij, 1535.

Yours

EDMOND HARVEL.

To the right worshipful Mr.
Thomas Starkey in London.

TANNER informs us that Thomas Starkey, apparently the person to whom this Letter is addressed, was rector of the church of Great Mongeham. In 1536 he was admitted Master of the College of St. Laurence Pountney, which he vacated by death in 1538. Two Letters, in 1535, from Barnardin Sandro, one dated from Padua the other from Venice, are addressed to him "in Aula Regis;" a third, from Venice, dated 5th Oct. 1535, is directed "Honoran. domino Thomæ Starkeio, utriusque Juris Doctori peritiss. Londini. Atte Dowgate in my Lady of Sarysbury's Place." Tanner says he wrote "An Exhortation to the People, instructing them to unity and obedience;" printed by Berthelet in quarto, without date.

LETTER CXVI.

Edmund Harvel to Mr. Thomas Starkey. The opinion expressed at Venice upon Henry the VIIIth's cruelty to the Monks. Barbarossa settled in Tunis.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. NERO B. VII. fol. 93. Orig.]

* * * * *

You require to be certefied frely of the judgement
made her of the Monks deth with yow. To write yow

plainly thenof, the thinge was notid her of extreme crueltye, and al Venice was in grete murmuration to her it; and spake long time off the bessines to my grete displeasure, for the infaming of our Nacion with the vehementist words they cowde use; for they are perswadid of the dede mennis grete honeste and vertus, and that ther opinion was conforme with the most part of all Cristendome; wherby they stand it was don ayenst al honest lawis of God and men to put soche men to deth, and after that kind wich is *novum et inauditum*. I promise yow faithfully I never saw Italians breke not at no matter tofor so vehemently as at this thing it seamid so strange and so moche ayenst ther stomacke.

* * * * *

Barbarossa hath made uttirly deliberacion to remayne in Africa, and hath fortified himself strongely in Tonis. His Navy was not navigable though he wold have departid thens, lacking a grete number of his sclavis and rowers^a wiche are dede, and also he found no commodite for reparing and dressing of his galeis, wherby he is constraynid to experiment the fortune: but men hath evil opinion of him, that he shall not be hable to sustayn this grete imperiall powar if it be convertid ayenst him; and if Barbarossa with his armye shold be subdued, men reken *quod actum esset de Othomano*. But how soever the thing procedith, men are

^a rowers.

in expectation of grete mutacions of things. They reken th'Emperor shold depart with thre hundred sailis owt of Spaigne, and the Marks^a of Guaste hath in Sicile 150 sailis ; the number of fotemen are 30 M. and horsemen 2000 ; al militarye men besides a grete number of gentilmen and nobles with ther familye wiche is grete, and also the Ships and Galeis provided of ther sodiars. A more puissant Navye by long memorye came not abrode as is this imperial. Hens of few dais we shal know I hope some thing memorable. Of al you shal have continual advise. I thinke to go shortely to Anc^a. but I wil make shorte retorne by Godds grace. Vale, Venetiis the 15 June 1535.

Yo^{rs}

EDMOND HARVEL.

To the right worshipful Mr.
Thomas Starkey
in London.

^a Marquis.

LETTER CXVII.

Edmund Harvel to Mr. Thomas Starkey, from Venice 5 Feb. 1535-6. A Portion of a Letter.

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. VII. fol. 105. Orig.]

* * * * *

“THE newis of th’old Quenis deth hath ben her divulged more then x. dais passid, and taken sorowfully not withowt grevous lamentacions, for she was incredibly dere unto al men for her good fame, wiche is in grete glorye emong al exteriour nations. *Hic palam obloquuntur de morte illius, ac verentur de PUELLA regia ne brevi man.^a sequatur.* I assure you men spekith her^b tragice of thes maters, wiche is not to be towchid by Lettres.”^c

^a qu. mandato.

^b here.

^c The fear which, according to this Letter, the Venetians expressed for the safety of the PRINCESS MARY, was also felt in England. The King’s harshness to her at this time is well known.

Pole records that the last stab which Henry gave to Katherine was upon her death-bed, when he refused both her’s and her daughter’s entreaties for a last interview.

“Unum tamen non possum prætermittere amissi sensus omnis amoris argumentum, maxime quod Satanam, non aliam creaturam, ostendit; quod in fine vitæ illius nobilissimæ femine dedit. Cum tandem dolore victa, animam afflictam Deo esset redditura, statim cum sensit illud tempus propinquare (quo tempore hostes, qui aliquid hominis tenent, solent hostibus misericordiam præstare) hoc solum postulabat a viro, ut *liceret COMMUNAM FILIAM videre, et illi de more moriens benedictionem, UT MATER, impertiri.* Quid hic dicam? Cum hoc idem filia cum lacrymis postularet, mater vix extremum spiritum ducens flagitaret, quod hostis, nisi crudelissimus, nunquam negasset, conjux a viro, mater pro filia impetrare non potuit, NE HANC quidem CONSOLATIONEM in extremo spiritu DARE VOLUIT.” Apolog. p. 162.

LETTER CXVIII.

Edmund Harvel from Venice, to Dr. Starkey: after the arrival of the News of Queen Anne Boleyn's execution.

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. VII. fol. 110. Orig.]

SIR,

I HAVE yours of the last of April wiche delitith me alwai singularly, and wher you exhort me to write to those honorable frends, I reknowlege therin your frendly concel and love towards me, fully perswaded that it shold be gretely to my furtherance.

* * * * *

To show you my minde liberally, I have litil pleasure and comfort of myselff considering the perpetual factions and discords of the worldly things wiche makith me cold to come emong men *in publico*. My minde enclinith moche rather to folow a private and quiet liff and give ope^a the worldly fastidie to them *qui ambiunt honores*, in the wiche number I was never gretely to be rekenid.

Yowr Boks I shall not forgette to provide. Your Newis I have seen, but thes other wiche more dais passid wer divulgid of the Quenis case made a grete tragedye wiche was celebrate by al mennis voyces with

^a up.

admiration and grete infamy to that Woman to have betrayed that noble Prince after soche maner, who had exaltid her so highe, and put himselff to peril, not without perturbation of al the Worlde for her cawse. But God shewid himselff a rightful judge to discover soche highe treason and inquite. But al is for the best, and I reken this to the Kings grete fortune that God would give him grace to see and towche with the hand what enemyes and traytors he lyvid withal; of the wiche inconvenience his Grace is fayre delyverid, for what time ther might have folowid damage to his Grace inestimable. Venice 26 May 1536.

LETTER CXIX.

Lady Brian, Governess of the Lady Elizabeth, to Lord Cromwell, from Hunsdon, for Instructions concerning her, after the death of Q. Anne her mother.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 230. Orig.]

* * This Letter has been already printed by Strype,^a but with a material omission, and in so imperfect a form, that it stands here at least in a more authentic shape. Unfortunately it suffered much injury in the fire of the Cottonian Library in 1731, so that in a few places the Editor has been obliged to supply the lacunæ. In this service Strype's copy has been called in aid.

Queen Elizabeth's manners when a child, form no uninteresting portion of this Letter.

^a Eccl. Memorials, vol. i. p. 172.

My Lord, after my most bownden dewte, I recommend me to your good Lordshype besychyng yow to be good Lord to me, now in the grettest ned that ever . . . for et hathe pleased God to take fro me hem that was my most com . . . ^a in thys world to my gret hevenes. Jhesu have marcy on her sowl an . . . I am sokerles and as a redles createwr bot only fro the gret tr . . . ^b have in the Kyngs grace and your good lordischep for now in yo . . . I pot al my hole trost of comfort in thys world besychyng yow to lo . . . me that I may so do.

My Lord, whan your Lordsyche was last here, et pleased yow to say, that I should not mestrost the Kyngs Grace, nor your Lordsyche which word was mor comfort to me than I can wryt, as God knoweth. And now et boldethe me to shew yow my powr mynd. My Lord, when my Lady Marys Grace was born, et pleased the Kings Grace to appoint me Lady Mastres; and made me a Barones. And so I have ben am . . . to the Cheldern hes Grace have had sens.

Now et es so, my Lady Elizabethhe is put from that degre she was afore: and what degre she is at now, I know nat bot be heryng say; therfor I know not how to order her, nor my self, nor non of hers that I have the rewl of: that is, her women & har

^a comfort.

^b trust I.

gromes: besychyng yow to be good Lord to my Lady, & to al hers: And that she may have som rayment; for she hath neither gown nor kertel, nor petecot, nor no maner of linnin for smokes, nor cerchefes, nor sleeves, nor rayls, nor body-stychets, nor handcerchers, nor mofelers, nor begens. All thys har Graces Mostake, I have dreven of as long as I can, that, be my trothe, I cannot drive it no lenger: besechyng yow, my Lord, that ye wel see, that her Grace may have that es nedful for har, as my Trost es ye wel do. Beseeching you, my owen good Lord, that I may know from yow be writing, how I shal order my self; & what es the Kyngs Graces pleser, & yowrs, that I shal do in every thing. And whatsom ever it shal ples the Kyngs Grace, or your Lordship to command me at al teyms, I shal folfel et, to the best of my power.

My Lord, Mr. Shelton saythe he es Master of thys Hows: what fashion that shal be, I cannot tel: for I have not sen et afor. My Lord, ye be so honourable your self, & every man reportethe your Lordsychepe lovethe honour, that I trust your Lordship wil se thys Hows honerabely orderd, how som ever it hath been aforetime and ef et ples yow, that I may know, what yowr Order is, & if it be not performed, I shal sertify to your Lordshyp of it. For I fear me, it wil be hardly inow performed, for ef the head of knew, what honour meaneth,

et wel be the beter orderd : ef not, et wil be hard to bring it to pass.

My Lord, master Shelton wold have my Lady Elizabeth to dine & sup every day at the bord of Astat. Alas! my Lord, it is not meet for a child of har ag, to kepe sych rewl yet. I promes you, my Lord, I dare not take et upon me to kepe har Grace in helthe & she keep that rule: for ther she shal se dyvers mets & freuts, and wine: which would be hard for me to refryn her Grace from et. Ye know, my Lord, there is no place of corekcyon ther. And she es yet to young to correct greatly. I know wel, & she be ther I shal nother bryng her up to the Kings Graces honour, nor hers; nor to har helthe, nor my pore honesty. Wherefore I shew your Lordship this my descharg, besycheyng you, my Lord, that my Lady may have a mess of met to har owen logyng, with a good dish or two, that is meet for her Grace to et of: And the reversion of the mess shal satisfy al her wemen, a gentleman usher & a groom. Which been eleven persons on her side. Suer I am, et wil be (in to right little) as great profit to the Kings Grace this way, as the t'other way. For if al this should be set abroad, they must have three or four mess of meat, where this one mess shal suffice them al, with bread & drink, according as my Lady Maries Grace had afore; & to be ordered in al things, as her Grace was afore.

God knoweth, my Lady hath great pain with her great teeth, & they come very slowly forth: & causeth me to suffer her Grace to have her wil more than I would; I trust to God & her teeth were well graft, to have her Grace after another fashion, than she is yet: so as I trust the Kings Grace shal have great comfort in her Grace. For she is as toward a Child, & as gentle of conditions, as ever I knew ene in my leyf. Jesu preserve her Grace. As for a Day, or two at a hey teym, or whan som ever it shal please the Kings Grace to have her set abrod, I trost so to indever me, that shee shal so do as shal be to the Kings honeur, & hers: and than after to take her ease again.

I think master Shelton wel not be content with this. He may not know it is my desier; but that et es the Kyngs plesure, & yours it should be so. Good my Lord, have my Ladys Grace & us that be her poor Servants in your remembrance. And your Lordship shal have our harty prayers by the Grace of Jesu: ho ever preserve your Lordship with long life, & as myche honer as your nobel hart can desire. From Honsdon with the evil hand of har that es your dayly bed-woman.

MARGET BRYAN.

I beseech you, my owen good Lord, be not mes-

content, that I am so bold to wryt thus to your
 Lordsychepe. But I take God to my joge, I do et
 of trew hart, and for my discharge. Besychyng yow,
 exsept my good mynde.

To the ryght nobel, & my
 syngeler good Lord my Lord
 Prive Sel, be thys delyverd.

THE Cottonian MS. Append. xxviii. fol. 39. contains a list of New Year's Gifts to Prince Edward in the 30th Hen. VIII. The King and his nobles gave principally plate. The Lady Mary's Grace gave a coat of crimson satten embroidered with gold, with paunces of pearls and sleeves of tinsel, and four aglets of gold. The LADY ELIZABETH'S GRACE "*A shyfte of Cam'yke of HER OWNE WOORKYNGE.*"

LETTER CXX.

*Mary, widow of Henry Duke of Richmond, to the
 Duke of Norfolk her father, respecting her suit to
 the King for her maintenance.*

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 75. Orig.]

AND though I am in dowt how yowr Graces shall

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take it that I should thus dally trouble yow wythe my besy letres, yet I trust yowr Graces will consider how thes mater towcheth me most of any other, & myne es the part boothe to speeke & sue if I had not siche a good intercesser to the Kynges Mageste en my behalfe as yowr Graces es, where of as yet prosedeth no effect bwt wordes, wyches maketh me thenke the Kynges Hyegthn' is not assartayned of my holl wudouefwll & rygth thereen, for ef he were he is so just a Prynce, so gracyous & of sych eqyte, that I am sure he wolde newer suffer the justyce of his laws to be denyed to me the wnwoorthe desolat widow of his late Son that newer yet was denyed to the poorest gentylwoman in thes realme. And if it wolld pleas ye as oftymes I have humble desyred yowr Grace to gywe me lewe to com up & sue myne owne cawes beyng nowhis to good to be in parson an humble suter to his Maygeste, I do not dowt bowt uppon the sygthe ther of hes hyegthn' shuld be mowed to hawe compasyon on me, consyderenge that lie hemselfe alone mayd the maryage, & to thenke that it shalbe myche hys Majestys honor to grante me that his laws gywe me to mayntayn me wthe; the desolat wydowe of his late Son, in the degre that his Mayjeste hathe kalled me to, yet newer the lesse puttynge my hole mater en to yowr Grases handes & my lorde Prewe Seals, who as ye wryet hathe promesed to be good lord theryn, most humble desyereng yowr

blyssenge I bede your Graces farwal frome Kengngael
this Wadenes day.

By your humble
dowther

MARY RICHEMOND.

To my were good Lord and Father
the Dowke of Norfolk thes be de-
lyvered.

LETTER CXXI.

*King Henry VIIIth. to to examine into
certain matters relating to Gardiner bishop of Win-
chester, and Morris his receiver. A. D. 1536.*

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 71 b. Orig.]

HENRY R.

RYGHT trustie and intierly belovyd we grete you
well, advertysyng you that we havynge hard what the
Bysshop off Wynchester hath doone in the hous of
Syon, althoughe he wold so set the same forth unto
us as we myght have occasyon to thynke he hath
doone truly as becummyth hym towardys us, yet
havynge thys forenone spokyn with Morres the Res-
ceyvor ther, we may well perceyve hym to have ostentyd
and bostyd hym to have doone more then in deede he

hath, and a coloryd dowblenes ether to be in hym or in Morres, or in bothe. Mores not answeyng dyrectly to dyverse introgates by us to hym mynystryd. We havynge therfore shewyd hym that intending to trye hys truthe to us, wyll not go about to grope hym, but wyll se yf accordyng to hys dutie he wyll of hys awne mynde confesse the mere trawthe, we alreedy knowing mych mo then he wenyth; wherfore we requyre you, uppon hys repayre unto you, studyosly to examyne hym, by whome ye shall perceyve dowblenes in the other, in him, or bothe, the whiche being never so craftely handelyd, I wold not wer hyddyn, not dowtyng yt shall your circumspect maner desyrus and attentyff mynd in tryyng owt trawthy, known unto us as yt ys. Thys fare ye well. From our manor of Grenewyche the xxvjth. day of the xxvijth. yere of our reigne.

LETTER CXXII.

William Earl of Southampton to Lord Cromwell concerning Blockhouses to be made at Calshot Point and Cowes.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 396. *Orig.*]

. The date of this Letter must be placed in, or somewhat subsequent to, 1537; that being the date of Sir William Fitzwilliam's creation

as Earl of Southampton. Among Lord Cromwell's "Remembrances," preserved in the same volume with this Letter, fol. 428. is an "Item, for v.C^{ll}. appoynted to Calshot and the Cow."

PLEASE it your good Lordshippe, this bearer my felowe, Mills, came hidre to have spokin with you. The cause of whose comming, in your Lordshippes absence, I have declared to the King, wich resteth in thies to poyntes. The tone for the workes at Calshorispoynthe, tooching wiche his sayeng is, that the Barbican of the Towre wol bée readie by Michaelmas, if they may knowe where to have Coving for it. And in that the kinges Majeste is resolvid that there shalbee led takin, aswel for the said Barbican, as the Towre it self, of the leades that arr at Beauley;^a so that for delivery of the same, Maistre Wriothisley must make a warraunt, and his Grace wol signe it. The toodre poynt is tooching monay and charges of the said works, and also the work at the Cowe in th'Isle;^b concerning wich this said bearer saith that by the next pay day, the money alreadie received wol be spent: so that he thinketh, and also it apperith by the declaracion of Bartine, that it woll axe at both places no lesse than one thousand marces more. And that by extimacion the said thousand markes, with the monay nowe remaigneng in his handes, woll performe the workes. In wich poynt, the Kinges Majeste is also pleased that your Lordshippe shall assigne &

^a Beaulieu, or Bewley Abbey, in the New Forest.

^b West Cowes.

deliver ouht a prest, and wolled me so to write unto you.

And my Lord undre your correction, me thinketh it were best, that the hole some, shold bee deliverd all at ones, rather than to mak any mo sutes for it. Sir the kinges Majeste hathe beene somewhat a crased thoroughe cold, & kepte within yesturday; howbeeit, this day his Grace hath beene abroad, and killed half a score of stagges with the Ladies; and is now, our Lord bee thanked, aswel as he was afore, wich our Lord continewe. Oodre newis I have none to send your Lordshippe, but thus commend the same to the keepinge of th'oly Trinity. From Amphil the xijth. of Septembre.

Your good Lordshippes assured,

W. SOUTHAMPTON.

To my singuler good Lord my
Lord Privie seale his good Lord-
shippe.

LETTER CXXIII.

*King Henry the Eighth to the Lady Anne Savon,
widow.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 58. *Orig.*]

. A Letter of Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey in the former Series of these Letters* afforded an instance of the King proposing a

* Vol. i. p. 207. Letter LXXIII.

match for the widow of an Alderman of London. This was usual, where Widows were the King's wards. Widow of the King, *vidua Regis*, says Cowel, was she, who, after her husband's death, being the King's tenant in capite, was forced to recover her dower by the writ "*de Dote assignanda*," and could not marry again without the King's consent.* The present is a sort of wooing Letter from the King, in which His Majesty announces to a widow that he has fixed upon a husband for her.

By the King.

HENRY R.

DERE and welbelovede we grete you wele, lating you wete our trusty and welbeloved servant Stephen Mylles hath shewed unto us how that he, for the longe experience and knowlege of your vertuous demeanor, sadnesse, and womanly demeanure, is greatly mynded towards you, to honor you by wey of maryage befor all other. We considering his honest intent and porpose in this behalf, exhorte and desire you to shewe yourself of like towardnes and herty love to our said servaunt for the solemnisation of matrimonie betwene you, to Godd's pleasour. And in your thus doing, ye shall nat oonly cause us to bee good and gracious liege Lord unto you booth in any your reasonable porsuytts to be made unto us, but also thinke yourself in our opinion right wele bestowed to your herts ease and comfort hereafter. Yeven under our Signet at our . . . , . . .

To our dere and welbelovede
the Lady Anne Savon, widowe.

* See the Stat. of the Prerog. an. 17 Edw. II. Mag. Chart. cap. vii. and 32 Hen. VIII. cap. xlii.

LETTER CXXIV.

*King Henry the Eighth to the Mayor and Aldermen
of London, respecting the Office of Metership of
Linen Cloth and Canvas in London.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 80. Orig.]

By the King.

HENRY R.

RYGHT trustie and welbiloved We gret you well.
And where as our trustye and welbeloved servaunt
William Blakenhale, chief clerke of our Spicerye was
in possession of the office of metershippe of lynyn clothe
and canvas within our Cytie of London and subburbis
of the same, as ye now being Mayre know and can
testifie, till of late, without cause or deserte, both
contrarye to the gift to hym made, and also against
justice and equitye, you have evictyd hym of the pos-
sessyon of the same, and also have taken the profetts
to hym apperteynyng to your own use. We therefore
marveling nott a lyttyll of your ingratitude to us and to
our servaunt in that case exhibited, by these our Lettres
requyre you, and nevertheles commaunde you that you
not alonly put our sayd servaunt in full possessyon of
the said office immediatlye apone the syght hereof, ac-
cording to the gift to hym gevyn, but also to restore

hyme to all suche profetts and sommes of money as you have receyved by reason of the said office; fayling nott therof as you tendre our pleasor. Yeven at our manor of Westm^r. the xvjth. day of Maij the xxviijth. yere of our Reign.

To our trusty and right welbiloved
Councillor Sir John Allen knyght
Mayor of our Citie of London, and
to the Aldermen of the same.

LETTER CXXV.

Thomas Cump tun to Lord Cromwell, upon the dismissal of the Franciscan Monks of Guernsey, who had refused to take the oaths required by the King.
A. D. 1537.

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 138. Orig.]

PLEASE hit your Lordship how that I have accordyng to our souverain Lord the Kinges gracious commission, and to the instruccions to me delivered by your Lordship uppon the same, don my debuer^a accordyng to the teneur of hit. And have called unto me all the Freres Observantes straungers whiche were left in the Convent of the Freres Observantes of Saint Fraunces

^a devolr.

within the Isle of Guernesey at my departyng, and accordyng to the same commission and instruccions have infourmed them to be sworn to our souverain lord the Kinges Hyghnes, to his Lawes & Actes, declaryng unto them the hoole continu of the same ; the whiche Freres after that they had understood the teneur of the said commission and actes, and after that they had communicated together and taken avisement, refused to take the said Othe, I avysing them how that they wold abyde the rigor of our said soverain Lord the Kynges Lawes and Statutes in that behalf ; wheruppon they required me to let them goo in to Normandy theyr naturall contre ; saying howe that they had heretofore made an Othe, whiche othe they wold not change, but rather forsake the Convent and Countrey than to make any outhere. Wherefore accordyng to your Lordship instruccions I caused a Bote to conducte and passe theym into Normandy, their naturall contre, takyng the conductours of them conducte mony to pay for the frayght of the boote & for them until they were come to their next Convent. Also certifying your Lordship that I have send you by this present berrer the very true and veritable Inventory of all suche goodes movable and stuff of howsehold as were within the said Convent of Freres, made in the presence of the Deane & of too Jurattes of thes Isle as hit shall apere to your Lordship under their sealles and signes : and have set the said goodes in sufficient custody & surete until the

tyme I knowe further of our souverain Lord the Kynges
Majeste most gracieux plaesur in hit. Suplying your
Lordship to admytte my symplesse for I have don in
hit the moost of my power, submytting myself to ful-
fill allwayes your Lordship his plaeser when hit shall
plaese you to commande me. Written in Guernesey
the xx th. day of September by yours

THOMAS CUMPTUN,

Leutenaunt.

LETTER CXXVI.

*Robert Cowley, one of the Council in Ireland, to the
Duke of Norfolk, a Discussion on the Finances of
Ireland.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. XI. fol. 401. *Orig.*]

* * From internal evidence this Letter must have been written about 1538. It affords a striking picture of the state of Ireland at that time; and among the facts which it puts upon record, none is probably more remarkable than that which acquaints us that whilst the Exchequer of England was so complete in its official arrangements, that of Ireland was destitute even of Books of the Revenue.

My humble duety premysid to your noble Grace,
it may pleas the same to bee advertised, that I, beeing
oon of the Kinges majesties Counsail here, unworthy,
seeing the Kinges great Thesaure sundry times sent
oute of his Graces coffers from England hither, the

great revenues of the land, the infenyt goodes and cattailes of theym which have been put to execusion, and of all the Religious Houses suppressid and dissolvyd, fynes, forfaictures, amercyamentes, casuelties, kyne gevin by Irishmen as amendes for their offences in takyng partie with enemys, incomes for leases of fermes, custumes, and many other proffits due to the Kinges Highnes consumyd; Hereing on the other parte the exclamacion of the Souldiours that their wages was but very lytill, and that they might have no payment; The marchauntes, craftymen, and labourers in likewise, I made serche in the Eschequier, to know whate the extunt of the Kinges Revenues was of certainte, besides casuelties; and there coulde be founde no maner roll, boke, or scrowe of the Kinges Revenues, with the barons, with the remembrsters, with the chamberlayns, ne with the engrosers; and it shuld be entrid in every of their bokes. Soo the Kinges Highnes hath no foote^a or knowlage of his revenues, or of the employmentes.

Brabason thesaurer of the warres and oon Thomas Agard have receyvyd all the Kinges revenues and dueties, destributid the same at their pleasures without making any of the Counsail prevy therto: wherby men thinke they, betwixt theym, have gaynyd xx^lM. markes at the leest: and I beleve the same. They have had all the dooing, receyptes, surveyoures, comptrollers, audytoures, paymaisters, letting out of

^a sum total at the foot of a page?

fermes, allowances of all accomptes all they twoo, soo as they have doon whate they wol. They have the substance of all the Kinges fermes and make the price theymselves, and appoynt the dayes of payment at their owne pleasure, wherto noon is prevee.

There was never seen soo sharpe receyvoures and soo slowe payers. They gayne yerely ij^lM. markes by their fermes and fees besydes their snap shares; which is a *nemo fit* infenyt.

Therfor requysit that a Comysion bee sent hither, to suche as wol earnestely and truely execute their comysion; or els to send hither ij Comysioners, substanciall men, that bee not nedy or gredy, to repell all lesys made, which must bee by Acte of Parliament; and to take deliberatly a new Survey for the Kinges advantage. And where now every souldior covetith to have iij or iiij great fermes, oonly to enriche theymselves and to make their handes, passing not uppon any service, peynes, or feates of warre, but lying in the herte of the countrey with his horse, horsekeeper, sume ij horses, and his wenche, for xd. Irish a weke; fareing delicatly, and yet making no payment. They can fynde money to goo gorgeously appayrid, and their wenchis, and to ryote in pleying at the dyse mony ynogh; their purses full; but to pay the litill xd. a weke, they have no mony.

This^a the Kinges thesaure sent hither is consumyd,

• Thus.

his Graces revenues and proffittes, likewise the cuntrey oppressed never the xth. parte soo soore, utterly beggerid; the men of warre subdued that shuld serve the Kinges Highnes of the cuntrey birthe, which bere all the burdon of the chargis of holding horsemen, galloglas and kerne, carriage of the armyes victailes, drawing the ordynance and artillery, without wages, and yet the pore men theymselves gooinge to the hosting bearing their wallettes in their neckes, utterly undoon.

And yit divers of the armye, not contentid to have their victailes conveyd at the charge of the pore husbandes, desire to have more cartis to their private advauntage, to take a fyne of mony to their purses, others to have theym as sklaves to carry wyne, to bee solde to their proffit uppon the franke caryage of the pore people.

The Constableshippis of the Kinges garysons and manoures is gevin to suche personages as charge the King with more then all the revenues of the same do extende, and kepe not their nomber ne do their due-tyes, but passe to make their handes, pillaging the tenants, forstalling the marketes of victailes and merchandises, to the undoyng of the kinges cities and townes; and will not goo to the felde with the Deputie for defence of the contrey, saying their charges is but to kepe their garysons; and when enemys resort to theym they doo noo exployte not so moche as to shote oon gone, but as people dysmayde; and where thees

great holdinges put the cuntrey to importible charges they shuld, and the cuntrey, in this Somer tyme, lye in the feldes redy to assault the enemyes, and not in Castelles and Towres distansyng farr a sunder.

Sir undoubtidly a hundrith english speres northern, on horsback, well horsid harnysed and of good rule, a hundrith archers, and a hundrith goners all on horseback, to geve daily attendance upon the Deputie, shuld doomore good then all this nomber namyd; ix Cl. summe lying in garysons dooing no good, summe in townes by pretence of sekenes, and the horsemen not well horsid, lacking harnes and wepyn, many of theym symple personages rydyng in pyllyns with an Irish darte, naked, without any harnes.

Under correccion I thinke very necessary that who soever it shall pleas the Kinges Highnes to comyt the rowme of his Graces Deputie unto, may have a Comysion to holde a Parliament; and by auctoritie of the same to adnull and repele all leesis made hitherto of all fermes of the Kinges manoures, landes, and possessions in this land, of all and every parcell to his Grace accrued by wey of atteynder, eschetes, dissolucyon of Religious Houses, or otherwise, leasid out to whatesoever persons by the space of vij yeres last past, and a new Survey to bee made for the Kinges proffit: Wherby his Highnes shall wyn no small yerely augmentacion of his Graces revenues. I write against my silf, to departe with all myn awne fermes, to preferre the Kinges

proffit; trusting to have summe ferme of Tethes or other scrapes for my pore house. I covett no excesse to make me riche.

This forsaid vicethesaurer Brabson and his companion Thomas Agard have takyn up all the fruytful fermes of this land without mesure, and suffer no gentilman to have any ferme somoche as a pore tethe to kepe his house for his mony, or yet a litell parke to kepe his horses in for rent. Such havok and skame-ling as they make was never seen, to the utter pilling and beggering of the land too lamentable to expres.

The said Brabson hath a brother called Robert Brabson who is Constable of Carelingford having to his purse all the kinges revenues there of Custumes, all the Castel meeses of hering, landes, woddess, and other proffites, to the yerely valure of C.li. And over that xvi horsemen in the Kinges wages and kepith not his number, and lye widely to doo any good exploite: and yet not contented therewith. Where a good gentilman callid Davyd Sutton who kepith at his charge divers horsemen and fotemen, had the constablenesship of the Kinges castell of Kildare, the said Robert did put hym oute, and for lucre toke uppon hym self to bee constable of Kildare, keeping in his handes the constablenesship of Carelingford, distansing asunder lxx. myles; and left not in the Castell of Kildare any manner of pese of ordynance, somoche as a hand gonne or any pese of artillery, not oon bowe, but likking up the

proffut; and O Conor beeing thereof monysshed, entered into the towne and burnyd it, and entered into the castell and ryfeled it of all the cattail therein put for refuge, and toke horses out of the Castell. And oon hand gone may have kepte theym out and saved the Castell and all that was therein.

Sir the next remedys to refourme all thies enormyties after my pore conceyte is as followith.

First that the Kinges Deputie may have a Commys-sion to holde a Parlement, and by auctoritie of the same to adnull, repele, and make voide all maner fermes and leases made by the space of thees vij yeres past of all the Kinges possessions spirituell and temporell, and to make other actes for the Kinges proffet and the comon welthe of the pore land.

Item that the fermes may bee distributed discretely and parted emonges the gentilmen of the cuntrey to enhable and encourage theym to doo service to the Kinges Highnes, and to entertheyne and kepe men of warre.

Item the constableshippes in like wise to gentilmen of the cuntrey, for a great part suche as have landes and wol fynde sufficient suerties to kepe the Castelles suerly to bee rendered to the Kinges Highnes saufely at his pleasure or to whosoever his Grace will appoint. Wherby the Kinges Highnes shal have great yerely revenues where he hath noon, the gentilmen of the cuntrey enhabled to kepe men to serve the Kinges

Grace, and the Deputie furnysshed with the strenght of the hole armye to make a stronge campe, where now by pretense of keping garysons the King is not servyde ne the Deputie furnysshed with men.

Item that parte of the Armye may bee content to departe from suche charges of Constablesheppis, that wol take no paynes, but take their passe tymes in good townes plesantly, permitting their Castelles to bee takyn and prosterated behinde theyme, as on Dewke constable of Castel Jordan in the borders of O Conors cuntrey, this last weke, was passing tyme whiles the Castell was takyn, brokyn, and ryfeled, and the warde like feynt cowardes gave over the Castell and rendered themselves presoners to O Conor, who had vj half hakes, a redd pese, a passvolant, ij hackbusshes, and a shipp pese, with all their pellets, moldes, and powder, which O Conor kepith to the great daunger of the Kinges subjectes.

Item that the nomber of the Armye may be mynyshed and to be pyked, clene, honest men, hardy, well horsid, harnessid, and diligent, and that they may have sufficient wagis to lieve uppon honestly and noo neede to compleyn or oppres the cuntrey.

Item that the Kinges revenues bee better orderid then it hath been to this tyme; that there bee auditeurs, surveyours, and comptrollers uppon the The-saurer and generall receyvor; and that all goodes and

cattailes due to the King be preysid and solde to the Kinges moste proffit, and that all the Kinges revenues be receyvyd in the Receipte openly, and imediatly entered into the Rolles of the kinges officers, as remembisters, engrossers, and chamberlayns of the kinges Eschequier, to remayn of recorde; soo that no suche pleying of Coll under the Canstilstyk or Juggelinges of the kinges revenues bee no more usid as it hath been.

Item that the receytes of the kinges revenues may bee put in an yron Coffer which is redy to have iiij lockes, and the keyes thereof to be delivered to iiij suche as the Kinges Grace shall appoynt to recorde the receptis and paymentes, and whate is superfluous above necessary employmentes, to remayn as a Thesaure at the kinges comaundement.

Item that certain Comysioners may bee appoynted, suche as bee close handed and not nedy or gredy, to make inquesicions in all places of all mens demeanures, of all extorcions, bryberyes, concelementes, collusions, and other abuses, wherby I truste every man shalbe known in his kynde, and the King to have parte of his right beeing embeseled, and the pore people sume recompence.

Where your Grace and others of the Kinges moost honorable Counsaill directed your honorable letters unto the lord high Justice, to the Archebisshop of

Dublyn, and to me to make serche for suche coyne plate and goodes as the lord Leenard Gray late the Kinges Deputie had here and the same to seyse to bee furthcomying at the Kinges pleasure, with as litil rumore as might be; Accordingly the said lord Justice and the said Archebisshop furthwith went to Maynothe there seysing all suche stuff and jewelles as there was founde, making thereof an inventory; and I repayred to Saint Mary Abbay and toke an inventory of suche stuff as there was. And we have examynynd Arlond Ussher, who by his othe hathe deposed that a litill before the said lord Leonardes departing, the said Arlond had in his kepyng a stele casket locked, full of mony as he supposid, golde, and divers bagges of money sealyd; which casket and bagges oon Lewte toke from him: and how mouche mony was in the casket and bagges the said Arlond could not tell, but it is thought to bee a very greate thing. It is said that there is more stuff of his prevely in keping; and we forbere to certifie the inventarys that we have all redy, trusting to fynde more, and to send the hole to gidders with asmoche diligence and spede as may be.

At the wryting hereof the lord Justice was campyd besides Foure with the best bande of the kinges subiectes that ever was seen to gidders in Irland, with xxj dayes victailles, an host of viij M^l. men hable to geve battayll to O Brone, O Nele, O Downyll, and O Conor,

but they lacke horsemen, which is a great lacke. The said Irish Capteyns made avaunte that they all wold have met to gidders at Fena by Fower, but I thinke sethens O Nele hath receyvyd the Kinges letters and his pardon, I think he will not stirre; and I think that Richard Butler, Donogh O Brene, and Callagh O Karroyl wol kepe O Brene soo hete that he shall not bee hable to come out of his cuntrey.

Thees Tooles and Kevaghes trouble us moost on our bakke syde, for whoos resistance we have been fayne to leve the substance of our strenght till now that we have truyce with the Tooles and with parte of the Kevaghes for vj wekes; God knowith whate hold or trust is in their othes and promyses.

The lord Justice and the hoost wol goo uppon O Conor to doo their beste uppon till they have spent all their victailes; and when that is doon, I cannot see how any moore generall hoosting can bee made this yere; the cuntrey bee soo pore with holdyng horsemen, gallogglas and kerne, carting and carriage, fyndyng the armye mete and drynke for litill or no thing, that they be beggered and not hable to fynde or contynue this excessive charge; and if we shuld suffer our holdynges to goo from us we shuld bee weeke and in great perill yf the confederesy of thees Irishmen shuld contynue. Humbly beseching your grace to contynue your gracious favours to me, and to vouchesauf to bee good to this berer in his resonable pursuytes; beseching al-

mighti god to geve your grace the complement of your
noble hertis desires. At Dublin the vjth day of July
your gravis olde servant and daily oratour

ROBERT COWLEY.

To the lorde of Northfolkis good
Grace with spede.

LETTER CXXVII.

*Arthur Viscount Lisle to Lord Cromwell, concerning
a report of one of bishop Latimer's sermons, and
upon the state of the borders at Calais. A. D. 1538.*

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 111. Orig.]

* * Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, was the natural son of King Edward the Fourth, but whether by the Lady Elizabeth Lucy or by Jane Shore is uncertain. He was created Viscount Lisle in the 15th Hen. VIIIth. upon the resignation of that title by the Duke of Suffolk, and in 1527 was elected and installed a knight of the garter. In the 24th of Hen. VIIIth. 1532, he was constituted Lieutenant of Calais; whence, eight years after, some of his servants having plotted to betray the place to the French, he was sent for and committed to the Tower. The Letter which recalled him to England, burnt and mutilated, is still preserved in the Cottonian Manuscript Calig. E. iv. fol. 34. couched in no terms of courtesy. The Lord Lisle's personal innocence appearing, the King sent him a ring from his own finger, with such kind expressions that his heart became overcharged with joy, and the night following, March 3d, 33 Hen. VIIIth. he died. The King's mercy, it was observed, upon this occasion, was as fatal as his judgments.

AFTER most harty recommendacions, this shalbe to
advertise you that the xxvj. day of this present moneth

I receyvyd a letter frome Sir John Wallop which I send you hereyn inclosyd. Further toching Newes occurrent here ys that Doctour Latymer hath tornyd over the leff, for on Wedynsday in the ymber weke he prechyd before the Kinges Highnes knowledging the popes auctorite to be the highest auctorite apon erth, and if he shall mysuse hymself he ought to be reformed by a generall Counsaill and none otherwise. He also confessyd our Lady & holy Saintes most necessary to be honoryd & praied unto, and that pilgrimage is very acceptable unto allmighty Godd and profitable for the welth of mannes sowle. I beseche you I may know your pleasure whether there were any such Sermon or no. Wherby, if it be contrary, the partie which hath brought such tidinges may be punysshed in ensample of other, here or elsewhere, as it shall please the Kynges highnes and you. Newes aboute the borders here ys that the Emperour hath made proclamacion at Dunkirk, Burborow, and Saint Omers, that no horse shall passe oute of his domynyon to no Inglishman nor Frenchman. Also Turneyham was solde to the Frenchmen, and the byer and seller, aswell the Frenchman as Flemyng taken and be in the custodie of Mounsier du Bever.

Moreover the Capitayne of Turwyn was at a poynt with an archer of the emperours garde for Arye, and it was discoveryd, so the said archer ys hanged drawn and quarteryd, insomoch that all the townes

on the fronters kept never better watche in tyme of warre, then they doo now. And as it is said proclamation is made through the Emperours lande, that every man being under hys obeisaunce, within vj. wekes to come and be resident within hys domynion. And thus I pray Jesu preserve you with prosperous lif and long to his high pleasore. From Calais the xxvij day of February.

Your own to commawnd

ARTHUR LYSSLE.

LETTER CXXVIII.

Margaret Countess of Salisbury to a Lady, concerning the marriage of the lady's daughter.

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 88. Orig.]

* * Margaret Countess of Salisbury has been slightly mentioned in the former Series. She was the second daughter of George Duke of Clarence brother of King Edward the Fourth, and was born at Farley Castle in Somersetshire. She married Sir Richard de la Pole, Knt. In the 5th Hen. VIIIth. she was allowed to inherit the state and dignity of her brother Edward Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, who had been attainted in the 19th of Henry VIIth. ; and was allowed to bear the second of his titles. On the 14th of October in the same year, she had the King's letters patent for all the castles, manors, and lands of Richard Earl of Salisbury, her grandfather, which came to the Crown by her brother's attainder.

Sandford, from a manuscript in the Library of the Herald's College, acquaints us that the COUNTESS of SALISBURY, by the particular

direction of Queen Catherine of Arragon, had the care of the Lady Mary's education. It was probably at this time that the following Letter was composed. It ought perhaps to have had an earlier place assigned to it in the Collection, but being without a positive date it was thought best to connect it with the letters which related to the Countess's attainer.

MADAME, I recommend me unto you, doynge you to undrestonde that I have receyved your Lettres by yourservante concernyng the maryage of your doughter, by the whiche I do perceyve that the Gentilwoman beyng accompaned with your said doughter unto your howse, hath informed you that it was my mynde for hir to certyfye you that the Controwler of the Pryncesse howsolde dothe bere hys synguler favour to your said doughter. Trewly she mysusyd hir self in gevyng you any suche knowlege on my behalff, for I ensure you that I dyd geve unto hir no comaundment so to do, for at that tyme I had harde no comunycacion touchyng that matter. Howbeit sens oure departyng from Hartelbury, the said Controwler hathe movyd and comonyd with me therin, of the whiche I have certyfied your doughter, but I canne perceyve no thyng in hyr wherby any effecte shulde be had or taken in that matter. Wherefore I pray you to be a good and naturall modre unto hyr, and I doute not but she will alwayes use hirselve to you as a naturall chylde ought to do to hir modre: and wolde advyse you to looke wele upon the matter whiche I sent you woorde of before tyme, that it may be brought to a good ende for

in my mynde it wolde be a veary meate bargayn if it
be wele fynyshed and come to passe. And thus I pray
God it may be accomplested to bothe your comfortis.
From Worceter the xxth daye of August.

MARG'ET SALISBERY.

LETTER CXXIX.

*Sir Thomas Wriothesly at Brussels, to Sir Thomas
Wyat in Spain, upon the commitment of the Mar-
quis of Exeter and Lord Montacute to the Tower.
A. D. 1538.*

[FRAGM. IN THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY, CALIG. D. XI. Orig.]

* * In its present state this Letter has neither the writer's signature, nor a superscription; but both are ascertained from a passage in Lord Herbert's History of Henry the VIIIth. in which a single line of it is transcribed, and from the word *WIATT*, with which it opens.

Lord Herbert says, "The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully made known to me that I can say much. Only I find among our Records that Thomas Wriothesley, Secretary, (then at Brussels,) writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyat (his Highness ambassador in Spain) said, that *the Accusations were great, and duly proved.*"

This Letter certainly gives us an insight into the real cause for beheading the Poles: "*the surety of my LORD PRINCE, our only Jewel after his Majesty.*"

The committal of these Lords has been alightly mentioned in a Letter to the Lord Fitzwalter in the former Series.* From the present Letter it appears that their domestics were their accusers. His Majesty determined "*on committing them to ward, that all inconvenience might be ensued:*" and *he loved them so well that he was loth to proceed against them: but WITHIN TEN DAYS they were beheaded.*

* Vol. ii. p. 96. Letter cxxxv.

. . . WIATT.

AFTER my most herty commendaçons, getting knowlege of this Postes departure but ever nowe and the same going in suche hast that I could not have any lenger tyme to wryte but as he stode by me, I must be shorte against my will, and shall by thise onely advertyse you that on Monday in the evenyng, which was the iiijth. of this moneth, the Marques of Excestre and the Lorde Montague were commytted to the Towre of London; being the Kinges Majestie soo grevously touched by them, that, albeit, His Grace hath uppon his special favor borne towards them, passed over many accusations made against the same of late by their oune domestiques, thinking assuredly with his clemencye to conquerre their cancerdnes, as Cesar at the last wanne and overcam Cynna. Yet His Grace was constrayned for avoyding of such malice as was prepensed bothe against his personne royal and the surety of my Lorde Prince, our only Juel after his Majesty, to use the remedy of committing them to ward, that all inconvenience may thereby be ensued. Th'accusacions made against them be of great import-aunce and duely proved by substancial wytnes. And yet the Kings Majestie loveth them sowell, and of his greate goodnes is soo lothe to procede against them that though their oune famylies in maner abhorr their facts it ys doubted what his Highnes woll doo towards them.

I write this unto You bicause you may peraventur here sumwhat hereof, and the thing percase sinisterly interpreted. Nowe that you knowe the truth you may declare the same upon my poor woord, and so yow may make aunswer accordingly. Thus I must byd you most hertely wel to ffar for lak of ferther leiser. From Bruxells the xiiijth. of Novembre at night late.

LETTER CXXX.

Lord Southampton and the Bishop of Ely to Lord Cromwell, upon the Seizure of the Countess of Salisbury.

[FRAGM. IN THE COTTONIAN LIBR. CALIG. D. XI. Orig.]

* * Warblington near Havant in Hampshire, whence this Letter is dated, was the Countess of Salisbury's residence. Some small ruins of her mansion are still remaining. It was originally a square pile of about two hundred feet surrounding a quadrangle, moated; and had been the seat of the Montacutes.

Cowdray Park whence the next Letter is dated, is near Midhurst in Sussex. It had been granted to Sir William Fitzwilliam, afterwards Earl of Southampton, the writer of this and the succeeding Letter, in 1533; and he built the Mansion there which was afterwards completed upon a grander scale by Sir Anthony Brown.

Lord Herbert is wrong in conjecturing Cowdray to have been the residence of Lady Salisbury. The Earl of Southampton carried her to his own house, as the first stage of her journey, should it be the King's pleasure to commit her to the Tower of London.

PLEASE it your good Lordshippe to bee advertised that as by our oodre Lettres wee signified to the same

wee wold, so yesturday the xiiijth. of this Novembre
 wee travayled with the Ladie of Sarisbury al day both
 before and afre none, til almost night. Albee it for
 all that wee could doo, thoughe wee used her diversely,
 she wold uttre and confesse litle or nothing more than
 the first day she did, but stil stood and persisted in the
 deniall of all to gidres. And this day between viij. and
 ix. in the morning, having received your Lordshippes
 Lettres dated from Westm. the said xiiijth. wee furth-
 with upon receite of the same, eftsones repayred unto
 the said Lady. And first afore wee came to hir sight,
 calling her men servaunts afore us, according to the
 continew of your said Lettres, wee apprehendid Stand-
 ishe; and that doone went in hand with her. And
 although wee than entreatid her in both sorts, some
 tyme with doulx and myld wordes, now roughly and
 asperly, by traytring her and her sonnes to the ixth
 degree, yet woll she no thing uttre, but making her self
 clere, and as unspotted, utterly denieth all that is ob-
 ject unto hir; and that with most stif and earnest words:
 sayeng that if ever it bee found and proved in her that
 she is culpable in any of those things that she hath
 denied, that she is content to be blasund in the rest of
 all the Articles layd against her. Surely, if it like your
 Lordshippe, wee suppose that there hathe not been
 seen or har^a woman so earnest in her
 co manlique in continuance and
 and so precise aswell in gest . .

^a heard of a?

. . . .^a wordes that wondre is to be
 For in her aunswer and declara^b
 she behavith her self so, and so . . all thing sincere,
 pure, and up . . .^c on her part, that wee have
 concey . . .^d and needs must deeme and th . . .^e
 the tone of ij. things in her, that her Sonnes have not
 made her pr . .^f ne participant of the bottom and pitt
 . .^g their stomaks, or ells is she the errant
 Traytresse that ever And nowe that
 wee have sei^h goodes and given her notice
ⁱ Kings pleasure is she shall g . . .
 she seemeth therat to bee
 somewhat appaled. And therefore wee deeme
 it may so bee, she woll the
 uttre somewhat, when she is remo
 wiche wee entend shalbee to mo . . .^k So that wee
 have cawsed invento . . .^l to bee made of her said
 goodes, and of suche things as may bee easily caried,
 as Plate and oodre . . . charge. Our purpose is
 to take us. For the rest, and for the . .
 of her houshold, wee have
 appoynted John Chadreton and
 stuard of Houshold, whome
 . . . for an honest man, that they s
 . . the ordre and rule therof; and . . . waite
 and attend continually theron til suche tyme as the

^a gesture as in ?^d conceived.^e of.^g to-morrow.^b declaration.^c think.^f seized her.^l Inventories.^c upright.^f privy.ⁱ that the?

Kings pleasure be further knowne from your Lordshippe therin ; but also wee have required one White, who is fermor of the late Priorie of Southwyke,^a maistre Waite, and maistre Talke, who bee all gent. and neighbours there, with oodre the Kings servaunts and faythfull subjets to have vigilant ie to the same, that if any stirreng or misordre chaunce or befall, the same by their good meanes, powers, and discretions may bee stayed and put in quietnes. As for Standishe wee shall bring him saulf upe with us ; for, beeing examined, no thing can wee get him to confesse. Thus th'oly Trinitee preserve your Lordshippe. From the manor of Warblington the xiiijth. of Novembre late in the night.

Your Lordshippes assured

W. SOUTHAMPTON.

THOMAS ELIEN.

. . . singuler good Lord
the Lord Privy Seale . . .
good Lord.

THE fragments of the Depositions against the Countess of Salisbury, mentioned by Lord Herbert, are still remaining in the bundle with these Letters. It is objected to the Countess that she would not suffer Tyn-dal's Testament nor any of the Books which the King had recently privileged to come into her house : and that she disliked the new learning altogether. There is nothing of real consequence as to crime mentioned in them ; at least which is remaining now. One of her domestics or retainers appears to have been acquainted with one of Lord Cromwell's domestics.

^a John White, to whom the Priory of Portchester or Southwyke in Hampshire had been granted in the 30th Hen. VIII.

LETTER CXXXI.

*The Earl of Southampton and the Bishop of Ely to
Lord Cromwell. A Second Letter.*

[FRAGM. IN THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY. Ibid. Orig.]

. according to the purport of
. lettres of the xiiijth of this Novembre wee
have nowe removed the Lady of Sarisbury, and this
last night arrived with the same at Cowdrey. And
where in the same our Lettres wee towched our opinions,
that beeing removed, she wold perhappes uttre some
thing more than alreadie she had doone: so this shall
bee to advertiese you that syns our arrivall here, tray-
vayleng sondry tymes and afre sondry sortes with
her, somewhat elles of newe have wee gotten of her wich
wee deeme materiall. And liekwiese laboreng with
Standishe, have pyked ouzt of him more than in
the beginneng wee could. And shall aswell therof,
as of all oodre our procedinges, and specially of her
gesture and precise aunswers and declarations to the
maters obiect against her, make your lordshippe true
reaport at our retorne. Wee assure your Lordshippe,
wee have dealid with suche a one, as men have not
dealed withall to fore us; wee may call her rather a

strong and constaunt man, than a woman. For in all behavior howe so ever wee have used her, she hath shewid her self so earnest, vehement, and precise, that more could not bee, so that wee thinking thought wee used all industrie and diligence to presse her to uttre more, if any more lay in her stomake, wee shold but spend tyme, and not mutch or no thing prevayle, agreed to departe hense towardes the Kinges Maiestie, and no further to travayle at this tyme. And so beeing in redines to take our journey between one and ij at aftré none this xvjth. of Novembre, and even at poynt to take leave of her, John Chadreton, and Whyte, whome wee appoynted with oodre, to take ordre of her household, til the Kinges pleasure were further knowne, sent us Lettres, wherin were enclosed certayne bulles graunted by a bushoppe of Rome, wiche were found in Standishe chambre, with a copie of a lettre found in a gentilwoman's chest, made, as it apperith by tenor therof, by the said Lady unto the Lord Mountague. And forasmutch, as the mater comprised therein semed have stopped our Journey th king, and shall spend the same in eftsones with her, so that wee have exam whether, wherfore, and when she made and by her examinacion have tried ouzt wrote the same, and have sent for the aboutes whose examinacion wee entend to

this next day til none, and so to make no . . . de-
more here, but putting her in suche ordre . . . suretie
here, as the Kinges pleasure is she shold bee left in,
with convenient speed to come h . . . And then
give you advertisement of all togidre. Thus th'oly
Trinitie have your lordshippe . . . keeping. From
Cowdrey the xvjth. of Novem.

Your Lordshippe asured,

W. SOVTHAMPTON.

THOMAS ELIEN.

To our singuler good Lorde
the Lord Privie seale his good
Lordshippe.

LETTER CXXXII.

*Lord Cromwell to the King; a portion of a Letter
dated London, the 14th of March. The discovery
of a nest of Traitors on board a French Ship at
South Shields.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 263 b. Orig.]

. In the former, and in some earlier Letters of the present Series, the traits which are mentioned of Lord Cromwell's character are scattered. A few remarks upon the general circumstances of his life will not be misplaced here; and he may perhaps be exhibited to less advantage than before.

His origin was obscure; nor is even his parentage thoroughly ascertained. From a Letter already printed, there seems reason to believe

that he had some connexion either in early or in middle life with the household of the Marchioness of Dorset; ^a and Hall informs us that he was Wolsey's "chief doer" in suppressing some of the meaner monasteries preparatory to the foundation of Cardinal College; an employment which shows that he must have been in Wolsey's service at least as early as 1524. Yet we are told that he served in the capacity of a common soldier in the Duke of Bourbon's army at the sacking of Rome, which did not happen till 1527; and which could not possibly have been. Fox is the authority for this fact; ^b as well as for the assertion that *Cromwell*, *More*, and *Gardiner* were brought up together in Wolsey's household; whereas *More*, who was brought up in the family of archbishop Morton, was so few years younger than Wolsey himself, that he was even a representative in parliament in the reign of Henry the Seventh, long before Wolsey attained to power.

Nor do the doubted parts of Fox's narrative end here. *Cromwell*, in a passage which has been particularly referred to in the former Series of these Letters, is described as scrupulous, when in a state of grandeur, to repay the debts and obligations of his humbler fortune; more especially to one Francis Frescobald, a Florentine, who had been his benefactor when abroad. Yet even the charm of this Tale is dissolved when we find its authority is a Novel of Bandello.^c

The outline of *Cromwell*'s history is given in few words by Cardinal Pole; who states the general belief that he was born in a village in the neighbourhood of London; that he was the son of a fuller, and at one time (whether sooner or later is not said) a common soldier in the wars of Italy; that he was afterwards in the service of a Venetian merchant whom the Cardinal knew, and kept his books of account; that being tired of commercial life, he came home, and took to the profession of the law, but that even in this pursuit he did not succeed till Wolsey employed him in suppressing some decayed Monasteries; that in that business his genius was developed, and that his conduct in it rendered him so un-

^a See the former Series, vol. i. p. 218. Letter LXXVIII.

^b "*Cromwell*," he says, "had yet no sound taste nor judgment of Religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word, as he himself was wont often times to declare unto Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, shewing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the Duke of Bourbon AT THE SIEGE OF ROME, also what a great doer he was with Geoffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the Pardon of Boston every where in Churches as he went, and so continued till at length by learning the Text of the New Testament without book, of Erasmus's translation, in his going and coming from Rome, he began to be touched and called to a better understanding."

^c *Novelle*, edit. Mil. 1560. 12^o. vol. ii. p. 146. Nov. XVIII.

popular that the public voice called for his punishment: fortunately for him, at the moment, he obtained an introduction at Court.*

The reader probably remembers that remarkable passage in Cavedish's *Life of Wolsey*, in which the writer says, "It chanced me upon All-hallow'n day to come into the great chamber at Asher, in the morning, to give mine attendance, where I found Master Cromwell leaning in the great window, with a primer in his hand, saying of our Lady mattins. He prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes. Whom I bade good morrow. And with that I perceived the tears upon his cheeks. To whom I said, 'Why, master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow? Is my lord in any danger, for whom ye lament thus? or is it for any loss that ye have sustained by any misadventure?' 'Nay, nay,' quoth he, 'it is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service.' 'Why, Sir,' quoth I, 'I trust ye to be too wise, to commit any thing by my lord's commandment otherwise than ye might do of right, whereof ye have any cause, to doubt of loss of your goods.' 'Well, well,' quoth he, 'I cannot tell; but all things I see before mine eyes, is as it is taken; and this I under-

* "Sic ergo, si tale nomen quærat, Cromvellum eum appellant, si genus, de nullo quidem ante eum, qui id nomen gereret, audivi. Dicunt tamen, viculum esse prope Londinum, ubi natus erat, et ubi pater ejus pannis vendendis victum quæribat, sed de hoc parum refert. Nunc si conditio quærat, sic quidem de eo intellexi, aliquem in Italia fuisse gregarium militem, fuisse etiam mercatorem, nec tamen longius progressum in mercatura fuisse, quam ut scribe esset mercatoris, et libros rationum servaret, optime vero novi illum mercatorem, qui Venetus erat natione, cui operas suas locabat. Tandem hujus conditionis pertæsus, domum reversus, causidiciis se immiscuit, his qui jura Regni profitentur. In quo eo magis se proficere sperabat, quod versuti et callidi ingenii sibi conscius esset ad defendendum tam iniquum, quam sequum, quod ex externorum commercio valde acuerat, cum nostrorum hominum ingenuiorum simplicitatem semper contemneret. Nec tamen in hoc genere valde crevit, antequam ad Monasteriorum ruinam perventum est. Quod incœpit vivente adhuc Cardinali Eboracense, dum Monasteria quædam pene a suis deserta, et illorum bona ac prædia in subsidium pauperum qui in gymnasiis literis operam dabant essent conversa. Hic vero notus esse cœpit, idque ostendit ad hanc artem solam se natum fuisse, ad ruinam et vastationem, id quod crebra aliarum artium mutatio declaravit, in quibus nihil crevit, in hac vero statim celebris esse cœpit, et pluribus notus, ita tamen in illis initiis hujus suæ artis notus, ut cum Cardinalis, ejus assœcia fuit, et ex cujus autoritate et imperio illam suam artem exercebat, ab administratione Reipublicæ remotus esset, et dignitate privatus, ipse omnium voce, qui aliquid de eo intellexerant, ad supplicium posceretur. Hoc enim affirmare possum, qui Londini tum adfui et voces audivi, adeo etiam ut per civitatem universam rumor circumferretur, eum in carcerem fuisse detrusum, et propediem productum iri ad supplicium. Nec vero populus ullum spectaculum libentius expectabat, nec ille rumor ex alia re nascebatur, nisi quod omnes eum sciebant omni supplicio dignum." *Poli Apolog. ad Car. V. Imperat. pp. 126, 127.*

stand right well, that I am in disdain with most men for my master's sake; and surely without just cause. Howbeit, an ill name once gotten will not lightly be put away. I never had any promotion by my Lord to the increase of my living. And thus much will I say to you, that I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my Lord hath dined, to ride to London, and so to the Court, where I will either *make or mar*, or I come again." ^a

The day after, Cromwell was at Court, and sought and obtained an audience from the King; Cardinal Pole, who had the account from Cromwell himself and others who were present, relates that upon this occasion Cromwell suggested to the King a mode of overcoming the difficulty of the Pope's opposition to the divorce, by taking the authority into his own hands and declaring himself **HEAD OF THE CHURCH within his own REALM**. The King gave ear to the proposition; and was so pleased with it, that he thanked him, and admitted him to the dignity of a Privy Counsellor. ^b

Could any thing have more completely sealed the **RUIN of WOLSEY's FORTUNES** than this suggestion?

It is evident that Cromwell's support of Wolsey went no farther than a given point. When he saw that the ruin of that Minister was thoroughly resolved upon, he seized the opportunity to raise himself. After Cromwell had delivered to Wolsey the thousand pounds from the King to pay the expenses of his journey to the north, he seems to have done no more for

^a Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, Singer's edit. vol. i. p. 204.

^b Cardinal Pole's Account of the arguments used by Cromwell to the King is floridly descriptive, but well deserves the reader's notice:

"Cui autem magis debetur nomen Capituli in regno suo, quam ipsi Regi? Monasterii simile videtur, duo capita in eodem Regno. Functionem hoc Sacerdotum esse, ut se vindicent a jurisdictione Regum. Sed revocet ille ad jus suum, quod illi astute abstulerunt; ornaret simul auctoritatem Regiam, augeret et ditaret, quanta nunquam omnibus majoribus suis visa est. Et cum hoc dicto, quasi in *pinna culum Templi*, vel in *montem ecclesium cum elevasset*, unde omnia subjecta potestati Ecclesiasticæ videri possent, sic OMNIA REGNI MONASTERIA quæ in magno numero et opulenta fuerunt, OMNES EPISCOPATUS, universum denique ECCLESIAE PATRIMONIUM, illi ostendit, cum illud adjungeret, 'Hæc omnia tua sunt, tantum te Caput Ecclesiæ, quod revera es, vocari te facias, et hunc titulum consensu Consilii supremi Regni, quod non erit difficile impetrare, si idoneos ministros, qui hoc rite proponant, habeam, facias dari. Quo facto non solum omnium bonorum illorum eris patronus; sed etiam omnium desideriorum, si modo unum observetur, quod initio omnis potestatis, ut in auctoritatem stabilem inducatur, plusquam necessarium erit, ut scilicet graves poenas statuas, nemini delinquenti parcas. Hoc vero crimen, qui isti tuo honori vel verbo, vel scriptis resistunt, proprio nomine signari facias, ut *Crimen læsæ Majestatis*.'—Vindices ergo quod est proprium Regi nominis, ut sis CAPUT IN TUO REGNO ET SOLUM CAPUT." Apologia, ad Car. V. Imp. pp. 121, 122.

The Cardinal adds, "Nihil in illa Oratione positum alicujus momenti quod non vel ab eodem nuncio" (sc. Cromwello) "NO NARRANTE intellexi, vel ab illis qui ejus consilii fuerunt participes." P. 123.

him. We have no mention of his name when Wolsey was ordered to London to take his trial; none upon Wolsey's journey; none in his last moments: nor have we any subsequent mention of the name of Wolsey from Cromwell, except in the single instance of the dialogue at archbishop Cranmer's table, when Cromwell declared that he was never so far in love with Wolsey as to have waited on him to Rome if he had been chosen Pope.^a

We now come to the character of Cromwell as the Minister of Henry the Eighth.

If Pole may be believed, and no good reason can be given for doubting his veracity, Cromwell was frank in disclosing his own Machiavellian principles.^b That he possessed such, cannot be disputed.

The Cottonian Manuscript Titus B. i. contains numerous Notes, in Lord Cromwell's own hand, of "REMEMBRANCES" when he went to the Court, the Council, or the Parliament. Their folds and creases show that they were the Memoranda which he doubled up and carried in his pocket: and it is singular that he should have suffered such to remain. Of these the following are specimens:

"First touching the Anabaptists, and what the King will do with them.^c

"Item what the Kings Highnes will have don with suche persons as do remayne in prison by the accusacion of Hale the prieste.

"Item to remember all the Juells of all the Monasteries in Englonde, and speciallie for the Crosse at Pawles of Emorads.

"To cause Indictaments to be drawn for all the Offendors in Treason and mysperusion, as the case shall requyre, concernyng the Nonne of Canterbury.

"Item to remember my Lorde Chauncelor for his ende.

"Item to send to my Lorde of London to gyve commandment to the precher not to praye for the Pope at Powly's Crosse upon Sondaye.

"For the Indytmment ageynst the Abbott of [Reading] and other.

"Item a Commission of Oyer determyner into Barkshyr for his indytment and tryall.

"Item certayn persons to be sent to the Towre for the further examynacyon of the abbott of Glaston.

^a See Vol. ii. p. 1. First Series.

^b — "Suam sententiam conclusit de officio prudentis Consiliarii, hoc in primis pertinere, ut diligenter investiget quò tendat voluntas Principis. Quia in re mediocri prudentia opus esse dicebat, dum non semper, quam verbis ostendunt, eam intus voluntatem gerunt. Quos decet maxime in sermone, religionis, pietatis, et reliquarum virtutum preclara nomina semper proponere, quin tamen cum his eorum voluntas semper conveniat," &c. Poli Apol. p. 128.

^c They were burnt, April 29th, 1540. Stowe, Ann. p. 579.

"Item the Abbott Redyng to be sent down to be TRYED and EXECUTED at Redyng with his complycys.

"Item the Abbott of Glaston to be TRYED at Glaston and also TO BE EXECUTED THER with his complycys."

"Counsaylours to gyve evydens ageynste the Abbott Redyng; Mr. Hynde; the Kyngs Attorney.

"Counsaylors to gyve evydence ageynste the Abbott of Glaston; Rychard Pollard, Lews Forsecw, Thomas Moyle.

"Item to se that the Evydens be well sortyd, and the Indytmentts well drawn ageynst the sayd Abbotts and thayr complycys.

"For money to be sent to Calyes for the deffrainge the Lady Annes trayne.

"For money for the deffrainge of the Ladie Anne's charges with her trayne after the arryvall in Englonde tyll she cum to Grenewiche.^b

"Item what pleasors or rewardes the King will gyve to them that shall departe from the Ladie Anne at Calays; and of what kinde they shalbe to be delyvered to my Lorde Admyrall.

"Item to knowe the Kinge's Highnes pleasure touching the Lord Mordant, and suche other as ffreer Forest named for his principal ffreendes.

"Item the Monastery of Syon to come by Premunire.

"Item to advertise the Kyng of the orderyng of Maister Fyssher, and to shew hym of the Indenture whiche I have delyveryd to the Solicitors.

"Item to knowe his pleasure touching Maister More.

"Item when MAISTER FISSHER shall go to his execution, with also the other.

"Item what shall be done farther touching MAISTER MORE.

"Item to send unto the King by Raffec the behaviour of Maister Fisher.

"Item to remember Rok the traytor of Ireland.

"Item to remembre the examinacion of my Lorde Marques beareward, and Payne his felowe.

"Item to remembre specyally the LADIE of SAR.

"To send Gendon to the Towre TO BE RAKKYD, and to sende Mr. Belleys, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Peter to assyst Mr. Levettinaunt in th'exa-mynation.

"Item to remember the Balade made of the Prynces by my Lady Mary.

"Item for the delyvery of the Marchynes of Excestr.

^a See Stowe's Annals, an. 1539.

^b The Lady Anne here meant is Anne of Cleves.

^c Ralph, afterwards Sir Ralph Sadler: the mention of whom will occur again.

"Item what the Kyng wyll have done with the LADY OF SARUM.

"Item for the dyetts of young Courtneye and Pole.

"Item the Sanctuary men being yet at Beaulieu for debt, that they may contynue there for their lyves.

"The payment of Quene Annes debts.

"Item to remember my Lorde of Canterbury his best Myter to be demanded in the lewe of the Kyng's legacie.

"Item to remembre to know the trew valew of the goods of Castell-Acre, for my parte therof.

"Item how that this daye I and my Lorde of Worcester be in hande with the Lord Darcy at the Towre.

"Item to shew the King the patrons^a of th'Inbrowderie for the Quene.

"Item to cause all the Estatutts touching the Popes auctoryte and the Kyngs successyon to be abbredgyd, to the intent the pyth and effect of them may be declaryd to the Frenche Kyng.

"Item to appoynt of the most assuryd and most substancyall of all the gentylmen within everey shyre of this Realme to be sworn of the Kyngs Counsaile, and they to have commandement to explore and inserche, to know who shall preche, teche, or speke any thing to the advancement of the Popis auctorytie and, yf any suche be, indelaydlye to apprehend them and to commytt them to warde.

"Item, to have in lyke case substancyall persons in everey good Town thorow owt this Realme to explore and inserche of all suche persons as shall in any wyse talke, preche, or teche any thing in the advauncement of the Popis auctoryte.

"Item to have the Acte of and for the Kyng's successyon oppenlye proclamyd thorow out this Realme, to the intent the Pepull shall not make them ignorant therein; and who so ever shall offend to be orderyd according to the sayd Estatute and the payns conteynyed in the same.

"Item, to cause all the Bekynes thorow owt the Realme to be with all spede repayred, and to put order that they may be watched and in a redynes for all chancys.

"Item Letters to be wrytten to all suche as have any Fortereassys nere unto the Costs of the See, to th'intent that thaye may according to thair dewte se them orderyd, and suche theyr munyscyons and artylerye as be within the same to be putt in redynes and clensyd.

"Item to appoynt Prechers to goo thorow owt this Realme to preche the gossPELL and trew woord of God.

"Item to send the Copey of the Acte of the Kinges succession to the Prynces Dowager, and also to my Lady Marye, and to geve specyall comandement that the same may be redde in the presens of them bothe, and to take theyr answer."

^a patterns.

There is a separate Memorandum in the same Volume, fol. 481, of a more extended kind, headed "Things to be treated of in Counsaill:"

"Item specially to note in what estate the kinges affayres stande in and to provide soo that his Grace may at the least have oon freende, and nowe the case standing as it doth to accelerate that matier soo that it may be doon in tyme.

"Whiche be the wayes and meanes for the king to acquire this freendehip and uppon what groundes.

First his Highnes hathe two daughters, *though not lawfull*, yet KINGES DOUGHTERS, and forasmoche as princes commonly conclude amyties and thinges of greate importance by alliaunces, it is thought necessary that those two daughters shalbe made of some estimation, withoute the which no man wold have any greate respecte unto them.

"And forasmoche as the one of them is of more age thenne the other, and more apt to make a present alliance thenne the other for want of age is, if it might please the Kinges Highnes to declare her according to his lawes whiche to her estimation is thought wilbe a great thing, or elles otherwise to advaunce her to some certain living decent for suche an estate, wherby she may be the better had in reputacion; It is thought the more acceleration wold be made for her: and thenne a like direction to be taken for my lady Elisabeth, wherby as his Grace by thenne may provide him of a present freende, soo he may have the other in store hereafter at his pleasure to get also an other freende, as the commoditie of his affaires shall require; for as we thinke the only shewte anker the Frenche king hathe, is to compasse the mariage betwene the duke of Orleauunce and the duchesse of Millain, whiche in estate were not to be comparid to any of the kinges daughters if she wanted that endowment of Millain, which the Frenche king thinkethe by that meanes to get into his handes, and if that shuld happen, thenne shall not only the Frenche king and the bisshop of Rome wyve together by all lightlywood against us, soo that the kinges Highnes shalbe destitute of freendeship on all sides, but also his daughters shall aswel remayn unprovided for, as be left in suche case as no prince of honour shalbe left to desire the kinges amytye by means of either of the same."

The following "Remembraunces" relating to grants of Monasteries occur in another page. "Item to remember Warner for a Monastery. Item Doctor Kern. The Lord Grey Wylton. Raff Sadelere. Nycolas Rusticus, Mountegrace. M^r. Gostwyke for on Monestery. M^r. Kyngsmyll for Wharwell. John Freeman for Spaldyng. MY SELF for LAUNDE. Item to remember John Godesalve for sum thinge, for he hade nede. Item to remembre my lord Ferres."

It is but just to Cromwell's memory to own that we are at least indebted to him for one useful institution; the introduction of Pariah Registers. These, for Marriages, Christenings, and Burials, were enjoined strictly by the Injunctions of 1538. But we are also indebted to him for the multiplication of the laws of treason, and for the invention of attainting persons *already in prison*, by Parliament, without bringing them to trial. The mention of this in his own case, by himself, will occur in a powerful form hereafter. He was not the first condemned by this law, for the Countess of Salisbury was the first: * yet Cromwell suffered death before her. He was the first who was executed under it.

—— neque enim lex aequior ulla,
Quàm necis artifices arte perire sua.

Stowe affords us evidence that Cromwell was not less arbitrary as a man than as a minister; noticing the Church of the Augustine Friars in London, he says "On the south side and at the west end of this Church many fair houses are builded, namely in Throgmorton Street one very large and spacious, builded in the place of old and small tenements by Thomas Cromwell master of the King's Jewel-House, after that master of the Rolls, then Lord Cromwell, Knight, Lord Privy Seal, Vicar General, Earl of Essex, High Chamberlain of England, &c. This House being finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoyning to the north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down, twenty-two foot to be measured forth right into the north of every man's ground, a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and a high brick wall to be builded. *My father had a garden there, and an house standing close to his south pale, this house THEY LOOSED FROM THE GROUND, and bare upon rollers into my fathers garden twenty-two foot, ere my father heard thereof; NO WARNING WAS GIVEN HIM, NOR OTHER ANSWER, when he spake to the surveyors of that work, but that their master SIR THOMAS COMMANDED THEM SO TO DO; no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land, and my father paid his whole rent, which was vi. viii^d. the year for that half which was left.* THUS MUCH OF MINE OWN KNOWLEDGE have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men, causeth them to forget themselves. The Com-

* Cardinal Pole in one or two Letters which are extant speaks of his mother's death. In one he notices her dying words: "Quanquam quidem, quæ me affixerat, non me prorsus omni consolatione orbatum reliquit, cujus si vel novissima verba misera natura auscultare posset, cum diceret, ut audio, '*beatos esse qui propter injustitiam persecutionem patiuntur*,' non solum me, et seipsam omni dolore liberaret, sed gaudio etiam replet, adeo ut cum Propheta dicere possem, '*MEMOR FUI DEI ET DELECTATUS SUM*.'" Epist. P. III. lit. xlv.

pany of the Drapers in London bought this house, and now the same is their common hall." ^a

Fox has recorded one or two other instances of his personal exercise of arbitrary power which it is not necessary to quote here.

In the Chapter House at Westminster an original Letter is preserved from Cromwell to his wife, addressed to her at the House described by Stowe. The following copy of it was communicated to the editor by the rev^d. David Powell:

"Elyzabeth I commend me unto you and have sente you by this berer a fatt doo, the one half whereof I pray you may be delyvered unto my gossyp mastres Smyth, and with the rest to use your pleasure. And further yf Richard Swifte be cum home or fortune to cum shortly, I will that he resorte to me at Begham or Tonbridge with all dyligence. Such news as ye have in those partyes I pray you sende me parte by this berer. At Begham the xxixth. day of November. And farther I pray you sende me word in wryting who hathe resorted unto you syns my departuer from you to speke with me.

Per your husbend

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

To my well beloved wyf Elyzabeth
Crumwell agenst the Freyers Augus-
tines in London be this given."

This Letter must have been written in 1525, that being the year of the suppression of Begham or Bayham Abbey.

Who Cromwell married, beyond what appears in this Letter, is unknown. Sir Richard Cromwell, alias Williams, from whom Oliver Cromwell was descended is believed to have been a son of the Lord Cromwell's sister.

* * * * *

THIS daye, being my Lord Chancelor my lord of Sussex and the Bishop of Duresme with my,^b I have receyved lettres from the President and counsellors of Your Graces Counseill in the North, dated ix^o Marcij, conteynyng that a certain Frenshe ship, laden with Scotishe goodes, wether dryven at Southschelis in the

^a Surv. of London, edit. 1602. p. 180.

^b me.

countie of Duresme, whereof the erle of Westmerland having advertisement, and by certain persons from Scotland advice geven afore, serched the ship: found under the bagages in the botom thereof a nest of Traytors, that is to saye oon Robert More preste of Churstie which was lately scappid from Hexams prison, and two Irishe men, a monk and a frere, who had with them sediciouse and trayterouse lettres agenst your Grace, directed to the bishop of Rome and to the traytor Pole: amonges the which ther was oon from that yong rebell traytor Fitzgerald to the Cardinal Pole, conteyning the kyndnes he had founde in hym and in his, and requiring him not to put him in oblivion, but beleve the said monk; his hand and seell be at the same. Also ther be lettres, long, from an arant traytor Rurik bishop of Derens, in your Graces land of Irland, his hand and grete seale at it, to the bishop of Rome, declaring the calamites of the papistes in Irland, with sundry trayterouse lyes agenst your Graces officers ther: an other lettre of credence to the said Pole, and many other. We have examyned them, and doo fynd the same to be cause of disclosing many thinges. They lack almost the Englishe and Laten tong. Wherfor I have put men understanding the Irishe and Laten tong to examyn them, and write their depositions. And the same had, I shall by my next lettres advertise your Majestie of the hole effect more particularly. We thenk it as it were a myracle that

God drave them hither, to be disclosed and punished :
and assuredly they think no lesse or greter then we doo.

Their lettres were hydden in corners. But other
lettres there were from Scottishmen to marchauntes of
Dieppe, and for certain Bulles and Dispensations to be
obteyned at Rome for Scottes, which touched nothing
your Graces subjectes nor affaires, wherfor, being the
same opened and perused, they have ben redelivered
agayn, and the Frenshe ship suffred to departe.

Amonges the Scotishe Lettres there was but oon
thing notable, that is th'Abbot of Melrose wrote to
some freend of his at Rome that noon Indulgences or
Expeditions obteyned ther shuld tak no effecte in
Scotland withoute the licence of their Prince. The
which purpose I lik well, trusting that the mercy of
God woll extende his brightnes upon them to perceyve
the truth of his word and gospell to the bishops con-
fusion.

* * * * *

A Thursday I received Lettres from Harvel your
Grace's servant and subject now dwelling at Venece,
the oon directed to your Majestie conteyning oonly
thanks and som other general purpose of his good
affection. I besече your Grace to regarde his good
will and zeale in good part and consider that within a
litel tyme he shalbe better hable to do service and gett
experience of your Graces affaires. The other Lettres
be directed unto me, conteyning besids thanks certain

occurrences there. Your Highnes shall receyve them herewith.

The Irishe monke purposed to resorte unto the traytor Pole; he was with hym in Fraunce, and at Camerik the last tyme that the said Pole was ther.

I trust in the meane tyme to be continually occupied about th'accomplishment of the Commissions and other your Grace's proposes and resolutions; ffor the whiche my lorde Admyrall is alrede goon to employe hymself for his part, and my lorde of Suff. is likewise gon to Lincoln shir. I trust our dutie shalbe so well employed to your Grace's service that ye shal have cause of contentement at the lest to take our doings in good part. I beseche your Ma^{tie}. t'accept our pouer good wills and smale power, who shalbe alwayes redy to obeye to th'uttermost your graciouse commaundements and speceally ye may be assured for myn owne part being of most bounden duetie obliged therto. Thus I beseche allmyghty God to send your Maieste accomplishment of all your gracious desires. Writen at London the xiiijth of March.

Your Majesties most bownden subject and servant,

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

LETTER CXXXIII.

Lord Cromwell to the King, dated London 17th March in the Evening. A portion of a Letter : concerning an Irish Monk, one of the Traitors before mentioned.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS. B. I. fol. 259. Orig.]

* * * * *

I TAKE God to be not onely your Grace's protector but also a merveillouse favorer, so that in my hert I hold me assured although all the rest shuld have conspired agenst your Grace, yet ye shall prevail through his grace assuredly ; seeing that now I understand from Ireland that your rebels Desmond, Byryn, O nell, and Odonell do moch combyne and practise togeder. I think a miracle of the arryvaill of the Irish monk which was wether driven hither, they were iiij. Ships at their departure of Scotland a fortnight ere they could procede any thing forward ; and, by tempest, iij. of them drowned in th'other sight wherein this monk was dryven to this your Grace's land by the wynd ; whereto of all places in the world he was the most lothe to arryve. It shalbe a great hindrance to the said Irishe rebells purposes and practises whan they shall knowe themselves so to be at this tyme by the in-

terception of this monk, their messenger, so interrupted. We cannot as yet gett the pyth of his credence, wherby I am advised to morowe ones to go to the Tower and see hym sett in the Bracks^a and by torment compelled to confesse the truth.

* * * * *

LETTER CXXXIV.

E. Hord Prior of Henton in Somersetshire to his brother Alen Horde, announcing his intention of submitting to the King.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 270. Orig.]

* * This Letter, from the Prior of a Carthusian Monastery to his brother, probably explains the feeling of a large portion of the Heads of the Religious Houses at the time of the Suppression. They were called upon to give up that "which was not theirs to give;" that which was dedicated to the Almighty for service to be done to his honor continually; and limited in its distribution to deeds of charity. They yielded to necessity. Willis says that Henton was surrendered to the King by the Prior and nineteen monks March 31st. 1539.

* The Brack or Brake, was a species of rack. The very instrument which Cromwell professes the intention of using, or a portion of the horrid machine, was lately remaining in the Tower. It is engraved on wood in the Notes to Isaac Reed's edition of Shakspeare, vol. vi. p. 281. It is also mentioned by Judge Blackstone in his Commentaries, vol. iv. ch. 25. He says, "The trial by rack is utterly unknown to the Law of England; though once when the Dukes of Exeter and Suffolk and other ministers of Henry the VIth. had laid a design to introduce the civil law into this kingdom as the rule of government, for a beginning thereof they erected a rack for torture which was called in derision *the Duke of Exeter's daughter*, and still remains in the Tower of London; where it was occasionally used as an engine of State, not of Law, more than once in the reign of Queen Elizabeth." In Mary's time it had been frequently used.

Jhus

IN Owr Lord Jhesu shall be yowr Salutation. And where ye marvelle that I and my brotherne do nott frelye and voluntarilie geve and surrendure upe owr Howse at the mocyone off the Kyngs Commissinars, but stonde styfflye (and as ye thynke) obstenatlye in owr opynion, trulye Brothere I marvelle gretlye that ye thynke soo; but, rather that ye wolde have thowght us lyghte and hastye in gevyn upe that thyng whyche ys not owrs to geve, but dedicate to Allmyghtye Gode for service to be done to hys honoure contynuallye, with other many goode dedds off charite whiche daylye be done in thys Howse to owr Christen neyborgs. And consideryng that ther ys no cause gevyn by us why the Howse shall be putt downe, but that the service off Gode, religious conversacion off the bretherne, hospitalite, almes deddis, with all other owr duties be as well observyde in this poore Howse as in eny religious Howse in thys Realme or in Fraunce; whiche we have trustyde that the Kynges Grace wolde considere. But by cause that ye wrytte off the Kyngs hye displeasure and my Lorde Prevy Sealis, who ever hath byn my especialle good Lorde, and I truste yette wyll be, I wyll endevere my selffe, as muche as I maye, to perswade my brotherne to a comfformyte in thys matere; soo that the Kyngs Hynes nor my sayd good Lorde shall have eny cause to be displeide with us: trustyng that my poor brothern (whiche knowe not

K 2

where to have theme lyvyng) shall be charitable looke
uppon. Thus owr Lord Jhesu preserve yow in grace.
Hent'. x. die februarii.

E. HORD.

To hys brother Alen Horde in
Medylle Tempulle
dd.

LETTER CXXXV.

*Thomas Lord La Warr to Lord Cromwell desiring that
Boxgrave Abbey may be spared.*

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 234. Orig.]

* * This Letter stands in need of a short Introduction. Lord La Warr calls himself in it the Founder of Boxgrave Priory; that is THE PATRON.

By the ancient institutions of the Realm, it was lawful for the donors of lands to religious and charitable uses, or their heirs, to resume them if the rents and profits were not applied to the purposes for which they were bestowed. This is expressly stated in a Latin letter from King Edward the Third to the Pope, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*.^a Hence also the care so frequently observable in our Abbey Registers to perpetuate the descents of those in whom the right of patronage was vested.

Boxgrave Priory in Sussex was founded at an early period as a Cell to the Abbey of De l'Essay in Normandy, from which it was afterwards severed, as an Alien Cell, and made indigenous, in the reign of Edward the Third. Sir Thomas West Lord La Warr inherited the patronage of this Priory as descended from Robert de Haya who had given it to De l'Essay.

In this Letter Lord La Warr solicits first that Boxgrave may remain

^a Rym. Fœd. tom. iii. p. 135.

unsuppressed; then, if it cannot so remain, that it may be converted into a College; thirdly, that, if that may not be, he may have the farm of it, with all such other things as the Prior had for the provision of the House, granted to him by the King.

The Site and premises of this Priory were actually granted to Lord La Warr, who, as appears by a Letter from the Visitors to Lord Cromwell dated 27th March, paid 125*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the goods belonging to the House.

This was one of very few instances in which the descendant of a founder, at the time of the Dissolution, recovered the alienated patrimony of his family. Earl's Colne in Essex granted to John Vere earl of Oxford was another.

It was to the credit of the English nobility, that no selfish motives on their part led them either to wish for or to promote the suppression of the Religious Houses.

Sir Thomas More has a remarkable passage to this effect in his Works:

"And to say the truth, much marvel have I to see some folk now so much and so boldly speak of taking away any possessions of the clergy. For al be it that once in the time of the famous Prince King Henry the Fourth, about the time of a great rumble that the heretics made, when they would have destroyed not the clergy only but the King also and his nobility too, there was a foolish Bill and a fals put into a Parliament or twain, and sped as they were worthy: yet had I never founden in *all my time while I was conversant in the Court*, of all the Nobility of this land above the number of SEAVEN (of which seaven there are now three dead) that ever I perceived to be of the mind, that it were either right or reasonable, or could be to the realme profitable without lawful cause, to take any possessions away from the clergy, which good and holy Princes and other devout virtuous people, of whom there be now many blessed saints in heaven, have of devotion toward God given to the clergy, to serve God and pray for all christen soules."^a

When the Houses were once dissolved, the Nobility, with the rest of the world, thought it no sacrilege to share in the acquisition of conventual estates. Papists and Protestants, indiscriminately, accepted grants. The Suppression of these Houses it will be remembered was prior to the Reformation of Religion, and was effected by a King and Parliament of the popish communion.

RIGHT worshipfull Sir, in my most harty wise I re-commend me to you, verey desyrus to here of your

^a The Apology of Syr Thomas More knt. made An. 1533. Works, edit. 1557. p. 835.

good helthe, thankyng you of your provyd goodnes shewed to me undeservyd, for the whiche you bynd me to be yours dewryng my lyffe; and so shall ye ffynd me to the best of my letyll powre. Pleasyth you to be advertysed that I have perffyt word that the Acte is past that all Howses off Relygyon that is under three hundred markys ys gevyn to the Kyngs Highnes, bothe the lands and goodds: and that by the said Acte his Highnes may by his Letters patents under his grete Seale gyve lysence to as many as shall stand with his Gracys pleasure to contynewe un-subpressyd. And so it is that I have a power Howse called Boxgrave, very nere to my power howse, wherof I am ffounder, and there lyethe many of my aunsytors, and also my wyffys mother. And for by cawse hyt is of my ffoundacyon, and that my paryshe Church is under the Roofe of the Church of the said Monastery, and have made a power Chapell to be buried yn; wherfor yf hit might stand with the King's Gracy's pleasure for the power servyce that I have doyn his Highnes to ffore bere^a the sub-pressyng of the same, or else to translate hyt yn to a College of suche nombre as the lands wyll bere. And yf hyt may not stand so with his Gracys pleasure, then I wold lowly beseche hys Grace to have the pre-farment of the farme, with all suche other thyngs as the Pryor yn his tyme had for the provysyon of his Howse. Wherffor I wyll beseche you that I may have

^a forbear.

your lawfull flaver, good wyll, and helpe hereyn. And
suerly, Syr, I shall recompence your goodnes, kyndnes,
and payne hereyn, so that I trust that for soe power a
thyng that you shalbe contentyd and pleasyd : besech-
yng you to be as good to me hereyn as you may be, as
my most trust ys in you. As knowythe the blessyd
Trinite who long preserve you. Wryttyn at my
power Howse apon owre Lady Day.

Your owen assuryd

THOMAS LA WARR.

LETTER CXXXVI.

*The Lord Cromwell to the Earl of Shrewsbury, re-
specting the punishment of a Hermit for uttering
traiterous words.*

[FROM THE *Orig.* COMMUNICATED TO THE EDITOR BY WILLIAM
BRAY, ESQ.]

AFTER my right herty commendacions to your
Lordship I have by this bearer your servaunt, bailly
of Chesterfeld, receyved your Lettres and the byll
therin enclosed concernyng th'Ermyte, the whiche
being by me examyned, answered that he could not tell
whither he spake ever the same trayterouse words or
not. I have caused an Inditement to be drawn ther-

upon whiche your Lordeship shal receyve herwith:
and also I have thought convenient to retorn the said
Hermite unto you agayn, there befor the Justices of
Assise to be tryed and to th'exemple of all other to be
punyshed according to right and the King's lawes. I
thank evermor your Lordeship for your good zeale, dili-
gence, and dexterate in repressing and apprehending
suche perniciouse and detestable felons; and therof
shal I not faile to make true raport to his Highnes,
who I am assure shal tak the sam in most thankfull
part. Thus I beseche our holy Creator to sende you
prosperite and long liffe. From Cheleshith this xiiijth.
of July.

Your Lordshippis assuryd

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

To my very good Lorde Therle
of Shrewesbury Lorde Stuarde to
the Kings Ma^{tie}.

LETTER CXXXVII.

*Lord Cromwell to King Henry the Eighth. News
from Antwerp.*

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 261. *Orig.*]

* * * * *

THE newes in Antwerp from th'Emperors Court be,
that about the later ende of Maye the said Emperor
shall take his waye towards the French King, and his
Armeie surely go upon Barbarya. The Duchesse of
Myllan is no mor sick, and in Antwerp is hope that
yet your Highnes shall marye her.

* * * * *

London this xvjth. of Aprill.
Your Magestes most humble subject and
servant

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

Lord Cromwell to King Henry the Eighth, dated London 19th Aprill. The examination of the Marchioness of Salisbury. The arrival of Hieronymo.

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 265. Orig.]

THE Marquise hath ben examyned, and in effect albeit she pretendeth ignorance and no knowlege of the person that shuld reporte the tale, yet nevertheles she confesseth in substance the moch like wordes to have ben told her. I shall assaye to the uttermost of my power, and never cesse tyll the bottom of her stomack may be clerely opened and disclosed; and to that shal I not be slack, to the intent that if I may pyck oute the same and be as helthy as I trust to make myself, I shall on Mondaye next, by mouth, declare the same unto your Highnes more then I could by any writing. I trust Allmyghty God shall bringe all thinges to lyght that any ungodly and untrue persons have conspired agens your Grace, as hitherto (praysed by god) it hath ben seen.

* * * * *

Here arrayved yesterday oon Hieronymo an Italian of Senes a man of moche outward simplicitie and as

weak lernyng as ferre as I can perceyve. He fledd the persecution of the Papists in Italy, and went to Witteberg where he hath ben but a litel season; yet nevertheles he hath Lettres of commendacion from Martin Luther, Philip Melanchton, Creutziger, Oziander and other lerned men, and therewith som Lettres to my lord th'archebishop of Canturbury and to your graces chapleyn Mr. Thyxstyll. The simplicitie of the man, and his rude appareill and behaviour, shewe the man not to be in my jugement grately suspected. I have sent him to the said Archebishop aswell for to juge of his lernyng as also for to helpe him as he shall see cause.

LETTER CXXXIX.

Thomas Pery to Mr. Ralph Vane, one of the Lord Cromwell's gentlemen, upon his sufferings in the Inquisition at Tryana.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. VII. fol. 91 b. and 102. TWO COPIES. Orig.]

. Thomas Pery was an English resident in Spain. The chief causes of his persecution appear to have been a refusal to acknowledge King Henry the Eighth to be a heretic, an alledged approval of the destruction of the Monasteries in England, and of the selling of the Church Bells, which in ancient times were consecrated. The details of this statement serve at least to show the opinion which was held of Henry's conduct in the countries which remained catholic; and more especially in the dominions of his nephew the emperor Charles the Fifth. The declaration of the judge Pero Dies, that the Inquisition would have burnt Henry himself if it could have found him within its jurisdiction, is at least ingenuous.

Here after followithe all maner of thinge as
conserninge myne Acwsacyon and what procedyde
ther of in the Castell of Tryana, as here after fol-
lowithe, in anno 1539.

THE 9th daye of Octobre laste paste, whiche was in
the yere of owr Lorde God aforsayde, I beinge in my
ware howsse, whiche warehowsse was in Ayemonte, in
the dwellinge howsse of Gomes Malmazeda, ther being
bessy brosshing sowche clothys as I hade ther of other
menes consynnde unto me be commyshin, as be the
commyshones more larger wyll a pere, and as for
sowche goodys as I hade of my nawne I had solde and
dyschargyde fowrthe of thys contre afowre; That day,
seweinge vij pecis of northen dossens that I delyweryde
to my nost aforesaid Gomes Malmezada, whiche was
in parte of payement of my servant Francys Bolde
ys bowrde, whiche was for ij yeris yendinge at Sent
Myghell the arkangell laste paste in the yere afore
sayde; and I so beinge in my ware howsse bessy,
ther yentrede in a pryste, dwellinge in Ayemonte,
with twoe or thre men in hys company, and as he came
in he sawe a brassyne bell, whiche bell myght waye ij
kyntalles wayght lyttell more or les, the whiche wone
Thomas Edwardys marchante of London browght in
the same shype, that I came in for to sell, onknowinge
unto me that ther was ony sowche thinge in the shype,
or a lande, I toke Gode to recorde I knewe nothing

ther of tyll the sayde pryste spaycke of it, he sainge what a goode Crysten is yowre Kinge of Ynglande to pwte downe the Monesterys and to take awaye the belles, to the whiche I answeryde and sayde that if yowe thinke that he be not a good Crystiane go yow thyther and showe his Grace so, and he wyll make yow answer. The sayde pryste answerid and sayde that he hade neyde to hawe more helpe yf he shoulde go thyther to showe hym so. He sayeng to me agayne, do yowe saye that he is a goode Crystyan. I answeryd and sayde that he is a goode Crystyan and I do take hym so, and he is so takyn in hys Reyne for a goode Crystyan; he sayinge no he ys no good Crystiane he ys a Erytycke, for he pwttythe downe Monesterys and sellythe the belles, and that he ys Pope within hym selfe in his Reyne; askinge yf that were well downe or no, to the whiche I answeryde and sayde, that, as twching that I hade nothing to do withall, for his Grace and his Consell knowythe what they hawe to do in his Reyne, but wher yowe saye he ys an erytyck I deny it, he ys none, but he ys a goode Crystyan; and if thowe wyl not beleive me feyche a nottary and I will geive hit the bye testimonyall that he ys a goode Crystyan; and I wyll swbscrybe hit with my nowne hande: wher apone he requeryde sowche as was ther with hym to beyer hym wittnes what I said, wherapone I rezytyde the wordes a fowresayde agayne, for cawse they shoulde the better understonde me, and so they

departyde: I, thinkinge that I shoulde a harde no more of them, the next daye after, I departyd frome Ayemont to Leype which was iiij leges of, ther to procwre for the laydinge of my shype.

The whiche shipe I was bownde to layde bye a serten daye in payne of forffettinge of a houndred marke starlyng, as larger will apere by the sayde chartw^rpartte^a at all tymys; and at my commyng to Leype I bowght of the dwke of Beja, a hounder pypis of bastardes,^b as Thomas Edwarde and Willyam Est dothe knowe, marchantes of London, the whiche marchantes dyd layde the sayd wyne in the sayde ship, I being ther in Leype. The xj daye of that present I was restyde be the commandement of the vyckyr of Leype, and so had to presson and theyer a chayne of yorne of two fadome longe mayd fayste to my leyfte legge, ther remaynyng xj dayes; and the xxj daye of that present thither cam the Algwazyll mayeor of the Inkyzissyone of Sywell,^c and he came to the pryssone to me and browghte with hym a nottary, and mayde me swere to macke trewe answer to all thinge that he shoulde axemyn^d me apone payne of the lawe; and all thinge was wryttyne downe by the said nottary. Furste he exemynyde me what money or jewelles I hade, or what dettes was owinge me in any place throweowte

^a charter-party.

^b Bastard was raisin wine. See Minshieu's Dictionary in v. and Cole's Latin Dict. 1679. Shakespeare speaks both of white and brown bastard.

^c Seville.

^d examine.

the Reyme of Spayne; or what goodys I had of my nowne, or of onny other marchantes consynnde unto me be commysyone or otherwyse; wherapone I was fayne to confes what was myne and what was other menes, for to excchewe the daunger that myghte folowe: wherapone the sayde Algwazell mayor mayde seqwestracyone of xxxviij peices of whyte kersseyes and xvij statwtes, which was and is for the acownte of wone W^m. Wode merchant of London, as will apere by hys commysyone which they hawe from me. Also he seqwestyd xxx peices of northen dossenes, and xvj straytes of dywers cowlers, the whiche dossenes and straytes was and is for the acownte of wone Rycharde Felde merchaunte of London, as also wyll apere by his commysyone whiche they hawe likewyse frome me. And of my nowne goodes he seqwystyde iiij doccets^a in reddy moneye and a rynge of golde, and my cheyste with dywers thinges in hit, as consernyng my aparel and dywers other thynges which I am not in parffet remembrans of; and thys downe he tooke me fowrthe of prysson in Leype, and wolde abrowghte me to Sywell with a payer of boltes apone my legges, as thowgh I hade byne the stronegest theyffe in the worlde; but the dwcke of Beja being my syngwlar goode lorde wolde not that I showlde so to be carryde, he yentryde^b swrte for me to the sayde Algwazill in two thowsande dwccetes,^a and that he showlde cary me

^a ducats.^b entred.

apone my howrsse at my pleswre, and that I wolde present myselff in the Castyll of Tryana,^a and so I dyd; and cam thither the xxvij daye of Octobre, wheyer I dyd remayne untill the viij daye of Febrwarii, whiche was xvii weycks; and in all that spayce theye wolde swffer no erly^b cryature to speyke with me. God knowythe what paste with me that sayde space.

And the fyrst daye of Nowembre I requeryde awdyens, and one the seconde daye I hade awdyens befowre the Lycencyado the Coro, and when I cam be fowre hym he axemynyde me yff I knewe wherfore I was pressoner. I answeride and saide ye, and I resyttide to hym the wordes before sayde, the whiche he cawssyde to be wrytten; and moreover I saide to hym that if I have saide any thinge otherwysse then I ought to do, I spayke hit mayre be reassone I was provokyde by the sayde pryste, dessyering hym of mercy and penanes, which he cawsyde to be wrytten downe; and then he resorttyde unto the prosses that was sent hym frome Leype by the vyckyr, whiche was myne acwzacyon, axing me yf I knewe he that acwzyde me or any of the wittnes; I sayeing no, that I knowe none of them, he axyde me agayne yf I sayde no nother thing but the wordes abowesayde; he saying that the wittnes dothe depowys forther, I sayeing yf they do depowys any other thing then I have con-

^a Triana was the name of one of the suburbs of Seville. Its tower or castle was the prison of the Inquisition.

^b earthly.

fessyde, I do refawre me to them, and so restyde at that tyme; and he sent me in agayne.

The iiijth daye of the same monthe he sent for me agayne, and exemynyde me yf I cowlde prowte that the kyng of Ynglande was a goode Crystyane, and also myselff; he sayeing unto me that yowr Kinge was declaryde and so here takin for anerytycke; to the whiche I answeyde and sayde, that I knewe no sowche thinge, but that his Grace dyde usse hymselfe in hys Reyme as a goode and a faythefwll Crystyan. He axyde me what was the thinges he dyde that mowyde me to saye that he was a good Crystyan, to the whiche I answeyde and sayde that hys Grace hathe cawssyde openly to be proclayemyde throweowt hys Reyme, commanding all hys trewe and feythfwwll subyettes to upserve and keype all manner of holly sacrementes and sacramentaws, and all holly serwes to be sownge and sayde in all paryschyre^a and chyrchis throweowit his Reyme, to the oner and glory of Gode, and that hys Grace hymselfe dowthe dayly here masse and serwe Gode within hys owyne chapell whiche is within hys owne mansyon, and confessyth hym selfe, and recwythe hys maker yerlye acording to the lawdebwill usse and costom of owr holly mother Chwrche, and so commandyth all hys swbjetts to do the same apone payne of deythe, and also to keype the yemberinge

^aparishry.

fastys and all other fasting dayes acording to the olde ansyent costome: and so he sent me in agayne.

The xvth daye of the same present he cawlyde me agayne, and bayde me to gewye the names of sowche wittnes as I wold hawe exemynyde for the prowffe of thys thinge aforesayd; and so I dyde gewe the names of sowche personys as I thowghte nessessary to prowte the same, to the number of xl. ynglysshemen and strangers, in Sywell, Sent Lwcar, Cadz, Ayemonte, and Leype; the whiche coste me myche money the sending of the prosys abowte, and when I had prowde myne intent, they let hit leyedyde^a and wolde never let me knowe what was downe in hit; for theye sawe hit serwyde not for ther purpowys: and so sent me in agayne.

The 24th daye of the same present, he cawlyde me agayne, and exemynyde me if I had ony other thinge to saye, and I sayde no I had nothinge ellse to saye, but that I refare meselfe and all thinge afore rezeyttyde and to the wyttnes, dessyering hym to do me jwstys with mercy. Then he exemenyd me yf I dyde not beleive and thinke in my consyances that the kinge of Ynglande were a goode Crystyan, and he pwtting downe the Monesteryes and taykinge awaye the belles, and that he is Pope within his Reyme, whether I dyde beleive hit to be well downe or no; to the whiche I answered and sayde that I dyd beleive hys Grace to be a good Crystyan, and the reste I belewyde to be well

^a lay dead.

downe for asmyche as hys Grace hathe not downe hit apone hys owne heyde, but be the consell of all his nobylles of his Reyme spyrytwall and temporall; and more, that the arsysshopes and bysshopys dowyth opynly preych hit in the pwlpytes throwtheowit the Reyme, and many wother docters whiche be takin for gret lernyde men, and they do declare that all that his Grace hathe downe he maye do hit be the atoryte of holly scriptwre; the whiche cawsythe me to gewye credanes unto hit, I beinge onlernyde; yf yowe cane informe me that he cane not do hit by holly scripture I wyll swbmyt my selfe and aske mercy; to the whiche he wolde make me no answer but that I showlde knowe more hereafter; and so he sent me in agayne.

The xth daye of Decembre he cawlyde me agayne to here myne acwzacyon presentyde by the fyscall, which he rede before me, and ther declarynge the Kinge Grace of Ynglande for anerytycke, and a parsson apartyde frome the holly mother chyrche of Rome, he not abeyng owr holly father the Pope, and declaryde me Thomas Pery for an erytycke, for cawsse I dyd belewe that his Grace was a good Crystyan, and in that I dyde belewe that all that hys Grace hade downe to be well downe; and he reqwryde the sayde Jwge to pounysse my boddy as anerytycke, and to condem all my goodes to be loste, the wone halfe to the Emperoures mageste, and the other halfe to the holly Inkyzyscyon, bedinge me to macke answer by and by

unto hit. To the whiche I answeryde and sayde, that I knewe his Grace for no erytycke but for a good and a faythefwille Crystyan, and so he ys takyne in his Reyne; and I myselffe a good Crystyan and all the kyne I came of; and forthermore, I hawe occwpyde thys contry this xiiij yere, I trwste ther ys no manner of parson cane saye the contrary, dessyring hym to do me Jwstys; and so he sent me in agayne.

And the xiiith daye of the sayme present mownthe I was cawlyde agayne before hym to declare be fore the nottary what goods I hade in my powre, or owtte of my powre, of my nawne, or of ony other menes consynye unto me, or yf I hade ony moneye owinge me in all thys cowntre of Spayne; and so I dyd, and then he sent me in agayne.

The xxiii^d daye of the sayme monythe the Lyssencyatho^a Coro came into the presson to me wher I was, and axsyde me howe I dyd, and whether I lackyde ony meyte or dryncke, and that I shoulde taycke paynes, for hys fellow docter Pero Diez wilbe here shortely; and at hys comyng he and I wyll commen togyther and we wyll be sowne^b at a poynte with yowe; to the whiche I answeryde and sayde, Sir, I besyche yowre mastershype in the oner^c of Gode to do me Jwestes,^d and let me not be utterly caste awaye here in prysson, remayenyng fwl of varment which cawsythe me to hawe no lyste of meytte nor dryncke, nor hawe no bede to

^a Licenciado.^b soon.^c honor.^d justice.

lye one but apone a fewe canys,^a with my cape under my heyde, and so he departyde.

And the xixth daye of Jenewery I reqweryde awdyens,^b and the xx daye I was cawillyde before Docter Pero Diez and he exemynynd me what I wold hawe that I hade axkyde awedyens,^b and I sayde, Sir, I dessyer yowe of Jwstys^c and let me not be caste awaye a thys fasshyone in presson. He sayeinge unto me what ys yowre name, I showyde hym my name was Thomas Pery; then he sayde to me yowe mwste answer towe or thre thinges and yowe shalbe shorttely dysspached. The fyrste ys whether yowe belewe that yowre kinge is a goode Crystyan in yowre hartte. To the whiche I answeyde and sayde that I dyd, and do belewe that hys Grace is a goode Crystian. The seconde is yf yowe dyde saye in Ayemonte in the howsse of Gomes Malmazetha that yowr kyng dyd well in pwtting downe the Monesterys and takinge awaye the Belles; to the whiche I answeyde and sayde that I dyd not so saye, but I sayde to the pryste when he axkyd me that qwestyan that I hade nothing to do withall, the King and hys Consell knowythe what they dothe within his Reyne. The therde ys yf you dyde saye that youre Kinge was Pope in hys Reyne or no, to the whiche I answeyde and sayde that I dyd not saye so, nor I namyde not the Pope nor spayke not of hym, and so he sent me in agayne.

^a canes.

^b audience.

^c justice.

Also the xxvij daye of the same monthe he cawlylde me agayne, and sayde unto me here hath byne dywars^a lernyd men, and hathe seyne yowre prosses, and saythe for asmyche as the wyttnes doythe prowre in the depossycyone that yowe spayke the wordes whiche ye hawe denyde, theye sayeing that yowe muste neydes confes hit and that yowe dyde belewe hit in yowre harte; to the which I answeyde and sayde that yf the wyttnes dothe depowys any otherwyse then I hawe confessyde, they hawe the more to answere fore afore Gode, for I sayde no notherwise, and so he sent me awaye; and within a nower after he sent for me agayne, and axkyd me yf I hade remembryde my selffe, I sayeing that I had no other thinge to remembre me of but that I hade confessyde; then he sayeing that ye ar senttensyde to torment for cawse ye wyll not tell the trwthe; ‘Sir, I have towlde yowe the truthe and ye wyll not belewe me.’

Than he commayndyd the Alcaylde to hawe me into the prysson of torments, wher althinges was preparyde for me, and strypyde me fowrthe of my clowthis as nakyde as ever I was bowrne, and then the porter browghte me a payer of lynnyn breches and then cam in the Jwge and his strywano,^b and he sette hym downe in a chayer within the prysson, haweinge a kwsshing^c of tapstery worke under hys feytte, and then I knelyde downe apone my kneyses holdinge up my handes to

^a divers.^b Escribano, *Span.* a notary.^c cushion.

hym, dessyryng hym to be goode unto me and to do me jwstys, he sayeing unto me confes yow the trwthe and we axke no more. I answeryd and sayde I hawe confes the trwthe and ye wyll not belewe me, therapone the porter and another tooke me be the armes and cawsyde me for to set downe apone the syde of the bwrryco^a and browght the wone of my armes over the other, and caste a rope v. tymis abowtte them bothe, and so drewe the sayde rope withall ther myght.

I thynking they wold a plockyde the fleshe from the bownys, and cryed apone the sayde Jwge to showe me mercy, sayeing to hym yowe saye thys is a howsse of mercy but hit is more lycke a howsse of morder then of mercy; wherapone he comandyd me to be layde apone the bwrryco and at the yend therof ther was a nerthen pane whiche myghte holde iij or iiij gallones of watter, and in hit a tocke of fyne cotten contayenyng iij yardes longe or more, whiche I shoulde a recewyde into my boddy by dropys of watter in at my mowthe, whiche is a greweus payne, and to be bownde with ropys to the sayde bwrryco,^a and when I sawe so lyttlyl mercy in hym I axkyde hym what he wolde that I shoulde do, he sayeing I wolde ye shoulde tell the trwthe; I have sayd the trwthe and ye wyll not belewe me, I mwste saye as yow saye or elles ye are dysposyd for to morder me; he sayeing 'no morder but jwstys;' and so I confeste that I sayde hit and thought hit and

^a burrucho, the wooden horse?

so he cawssyde hit to be wrytten, and so went hys waye; and I was onelowesyde agayne.

The xxixth daye of the same monthe I was cawllide agayne befowre the sayd Jwge Pero Diez, and he cawssyde me to be sworne of the holly Awangeleste and exemenyde me be the vertue of the sayde othe, and cawssyde the nottary to rede all thinge that passyde in the pressone of tormente whether hit was trew or no. I sayeing God knowythe all trwthe; he sayeing to me, was hit not trwthe; yf hit were not, ye mwste go thither agayne. Then I sayde ‘Ye Ser, hit ys trewe.’ Then afterwarde I dessyeryng hym for the onor of Gode to gewe me good consell that I maye sawe^a my sowlle, to the intent that I wolde prowre his mynde, he sayeing to me that he wolde gewe me good consell, sayeing unto me ‘Brother ye shall understonde that abowyt x or xij yere agowe yowr Kyng wrytte agaynste Lwtther^b that greyt erytycke, and no crystyan Kinge so myche as he; and now he is the grettteste erytycke in the worlde; and if we hade hym heyere we wolde borne hym; all the world showlde not sawe^a hym. I sayeing so, I besyche yowr worship to shewe me what pennyones he hathe he sayeing that he ys a wery tyrante, and a man qwyller, and he kepythe no jwstys but doythe all thinges of hys owne ryall power. And spendithe hys tyme in all vysshwsnes, and in howntyng and halkyng;^c and more, he hathe absentyde

^a save.

^b Luther.

^c hawking.

hymselff frome the holly mother chyrche of Rome and from the Popys attoryte for cawsse the Pope geywe a senttan^es with Qwyne Katterin to be hys lawefwll wyffe; which he wolde not upserwe^a nor keype but toke another and lewyde^b with hyr in a vowetery; and within shorte space after he cawssyd hir heyde to be stroken of; sayeing unto me that I knewe wherfore, and that I knewe that all thys was trwe: to the whiche I answered and sayde that I knewe hys Grace of a good Crystyan, and that he dyd nothinge in hys Reyme but with consell of hys nobull conssell, and be the order of jwstys; and when the Qwyne was heyddyd I was not in the Reyme, I knewe nothing of hit; and so he sent me in agayne.

The viijth daye of Februarii I was cawllide owyte of the presson by the Alkaldy, and he strocke of my yerones and hade me fowrthe into the courte of the Castyll, wher I was bade kneyll downe apone my kneysse befor ten prystys; and in my company Johne Robyns, Harry Hollande, Robarte Morgante, and Willam Alcot, and so we were assoyllide, sayeing the sawme of “Messerery”^c ower us, and dysplyde us with a fagget stycke and so comandyd us to stande up apone a rowe be the wallys syde bare hedyde in owr cottes; and the porter of the castyll browght for ewery man a nabet^d of sent Benettes, of yellowe canwas with two rede crossys a pece, whiche he caste over owr

^a upserve.^b lived.^c Psalm li.^d a habit.

heydys apone owr backys, whiche abett^a myghte be halfe a yarde deype and every wone of us a candyll of waxe in owr handys; and so we were caryde fowrthe of the Castyll into the streytte, wher the pressyssyon taryd for us with the number of iij or iiij thowssande pepwll; for the daye afore they cawssyde the trompettys with dronscellettys^b to go abowit the Cyte, that sowche a nalt showlde be downe the nexte daye; so we followyde the Crosse, and apone ewery syde of us went a man, and so we went to a parysshe chyrche cawillyde sent Annes in Tryana, and in the boddy of the chyrche ther was a skafolde mayde which we were set apone, and ther reymaynd the hye masse tyme, and a sermonte was mayde bye a awstyn^c fryer wone of the fathers of the sayde inkyzystyon.^d

And the aserte of thys sermonte was declaring that we hade aryde innessentlye^e for cawse we knewe not the scrypture, and, after he hade downe, ther cam into the pwlpytte a nottary of the inkyzytyone,^d and openly declaryde every manes sentaunes; the seycte of my sentaunes was that theye condemnyde my boddy to do that opyn pennanns for cawsse I hade sayde that the Kyng of Ynglande was a goode Crystyan, he beinge an erytycke; and sayeing that I sayde that the Kyng

^a habit.

^b Dr. Burney, Hist. Mus. vol. iii. p. 5. in a Manuscript concerning the Household and Chapel Royal of King Edw. VIth. finds the mention of *DRONSLADES*, a species of Drum; apparently the same Instrument. In a note he says, "Perhaps from *Trommel schlager*, drum beater. *Germ.*"

^c Austin.

^d Inquisition.

^e erred innocently.

petting downe of Monesterys, and taycking awaye the Belles, and that he was Pope within his Reyme, I dyd saye and belewe hit to be well downe; the sayd notary declaryng that hit was erezy and agaynst owr hollye Mother Chyrche.

And also he declaryde that theye hade condemnyde my boddy to the prysson of Perpetwe, ther to remayne vj monthys, and not to departte owte of it withowtte the sayde a bett^a apone my backe; ewery Sonedaye to go to Sent Salvadorys, and ther to heyer hye masse and a sermone; also he declaryde that theye hade sentensyde all my goodes to be loste, the wone halfe to the emperowrys mageste, and the other halfe to the howsse of the holly inkyzyscyon;^b and so I was caryde with pressesshyon agayne to the castell of Tryana, wher I dyd remayne tyll thre of the clocke at afternowne whiche was apone Shrowe sonedaye,^c and then we were cawlyd in before docter Pero Diez, he sayeing unto us we have usyde yowe as a loweinge mother dowythe use hir chylde, for yf she lowe hym she wyll chastyse hym, and so hathe owr holly Mother Chyrche ussyde yowe; but if yowe affende agayne in never so lyttell a thing, ther ys no remedy but you mwste be bowrnde;^d and so he comandyde us to be caryde from the castyll of Tryana to the prysson of Perpetwe wher I do remayne, abyddinge the mercy of the Lorde; and myght dye for fawyt^e of comfort yf hit

^a habit.^b Inquisition.^c Shrove Sunday.^d burnt.^e fault.

were not of the goodnes of Mr. Haryson, Johne Fylde, with dywers other of owr nassyon whiche dothe helpe us of cheryte; for theye hawe not lefte me wone blanke^a nor it garment to my backe, Gode amende them.

Be me

THOMAS PERY.

To his ryghte worshipecfull Rayffe
Vane gentyllman belonginge to my
Lorde Prewe Sealle dwellinge in
Hadleye besyds Twnebryche in
Kente this be dd.

The Mary Fortwne of Leye.^b

LETTER CXL.

*John Earl of Bath to Lord Cromwell, complaining
of his father's unjust will and his mother-in-law's
malice. A. D. 1540.*

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 99. Orig.]

* * * John Earl of Bath, the elder, died 30th April, 31 Hen. VIIIth., having enjoyed that title rather less than two years.

RIGHT honorable and my synguler good Lord, after
my most hartie comendations and lyke thanks for

^a blanket.

^b The other copy of this Letter is addressed "To the worshipfll Rychard Fylde merchant, this be dd. in London." Below, as in this copy, is the name of the vessel which conveyed the Letter, "The Mary Fortwne of Leye." Richard Fylde, or Feld, has been already mentioned in the Letter itself, see p. 142.

your manyfolde goodnes exhybytt to me, of the wich I beseche you of contynuaunce, these shall be signifyng to your good Lordeshype that wher it hath pleased Allmyghty Godde to call my naturall father to his fatall ende, and upon my handes to leue sondry wayghty charges without allowance by will or otherwyse, ordaynyng & constitutyng my lady my Mother-inlawe sole executryx of all & syngler his goodes moveable and unmoveable, to no lytle hyndrance of me & myne. I shall wyth farvent zele desyer that it may please your good Lordshipe to have the syght of my lord my Fathers will, and the same to examyne wyth such dexteryte that I may have wherewithall to serve our Prynce. I thynk no chyld so unnaturally entreated as I am, beyng allwaies dylygent & obedyente as nature dyd therto me bynd. Nor yet my lady my Mother-inlaw at any time hath hadde by me occasion so cruelly to incense my lord my Father agenst me in tyme of makyng his testament, no part of his goodes to bequeth me; consyderyng she hath syx hundred markes yerly of my inherytance to her joynter. Other refuge than your good Lordeshype I have none, whom I beseche to be to me a father, as I shall be to you my lyff duryng a humble chyld; hartely prayng that it may please you so to accept me. Furthermor I shall desyer your good Lordshepe that I may be at some end with the Kynges Highnes for my spetial livery, and reasonable dayes to have of payment of such sum as it

shall please the Kynges hygh Majestie with his honorable counsyll to assigne.^a I am, my good Lord, & long have byn, sore aggrieved with the agew myxte with a cough & haskenes, wich, with attendance & watche taken with my Lord my father, the tyme of his sykenes, is paynfully encreased, that I dare not take any jorney as yet; nother to attend, as my dewtie is, upon your good Lordeshipe, nother yet to know a determynat end of the House of Saynt Johns in Bridgewater with the demaynes therunto belongyng;^b praying your good Lordeshipe to accept my absence, and at convenient season to have me in remembrance. Thus most hartely fare your good Lordeshipe well. Frome Dorneford the thyrd day of May.

Your Lordships faythefully assured,

JOHN BATHON.

LETTER CXLI.

The Commissioners in the Cause of Anne of Cleves to King Henry the Eighth, acquainting him that she acquiesced in his determination.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 247 b. Orig.]

PLEASITH your Majestie to understande howe according to your Highnes commaundement we have

^a Special livery of his father's lands was granted to him Pat. 22 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

^b The reversion of the Site of the Hospital of St. John Bridgewater did not, however, fall to the Earl of Bath. It was granted March 16th, 24 Hen. VIIIth, to one Humfry Colles and his heirs. Orig. 24 Hen. VIII. p. 2. nu. xxxii.

declared your Grace's Commission to the Quene by
 the mouth of an Interpreter who did his parte very
 wel: and the Quene without alteration of countenance
 hath made answer, th'affecte wherof tendith to this,
 that she is content always with your Majestie . . .
 . . The hol circumstaunce We shal declare . . .
 at our cummyng to morowe. And this night . . .
 Your Highnes appoyntement we
 tary sayng the bishop of Winchester
 who London this night to
 th'intent he maye be at the Convocation.
 In our opiny al thing shal procede
 wel to th your Highnes vertues^a
 desires and preserve your Majestie

. . . Richemont this Tuesday at

Your Maje . . .

obedient . . .

subg

.

^a virtuous.

LETTER CXLII.

*Lord Cromwell to King Henry the Eighth. A Letter
from his Prison in the Tower.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 267. Orig.]

. This Letter has been already printed by Burnet in the third Volume of his History of the Reformation,^a but not correctly, so that an apology is unnecessary for printing it again here.

In the first Volume of his History, Burnet has printed another Letter from Cromwell to the King,^b copied from the Cottonian Manuscript Otho C. x. still more incorrect than this, and with great omissions; so much so, that with the exception of two or three paragraphs, it hardly appears to be the same Letter. Unfortunately the original of that has been so injured by fire that it can be collated in parts only.

Cromwell thanks his Sovereign at the opening of it, for sending certain honourable personages to him at two several times, "at one time sued for, and at the other time declaring his state and condition in most honourable, prudent, and sage fashion," and says that, in their repair to him, they heard him in every thing without interruption, and with such gentleness that he could no more desire.

The next paragraph is very important. He remonstrates in it against the Bill of his Attainder. He says he was informed by the persons already mentioned, that "myn offences being by honest and probable wytnes proved, I was by your honorable Lords of the Upper House and the worshipful and discrete Communes of your Nether House *convycted* and *ATTAYNTED*. Gracyous Sovereyn, when I herde them, I sayd, as now I saye, that I am a subject and boorn to obbey lawse, and knowe that the tryall of all lawse only consystethe in honest and probable wytnes, consydering that the State of the Realme hadde harde and resayvyd them." Here the Letter breaks off: though again he adds, "Albeit lawse be lawse." In a subsequent portion he says, "Syr uppon my knees I most humblye beseche your gracyous Magestye to be good and gracious lorde to my pore son, the good and vertuous woman his wyffe,

^a Hist. Reform. vol. iii. Rec. 161.

^b Ibid. vol. i. Rec. 192.

and thair poore childern, and also to my tts;^a and this I desyre of your Grace for Christ's sake."^b

From one part of this Letter we learn that Henry sent Cromwell money while in the Tower: and it appears to have given him more than a hope of life. Cromwell then mentions Anne of Cleves and the Marriage in it. Your "Grace repayeryd towards nyght to Grenwyche wher I spake with your Grace, and demandyd of you how ye lykyd the Ladye Anne; your Grace being sumwhat hevvy, as I toke hyt, answeyrd and sayd she was no suche manner of wooman as she hadde bene declaryd to you, with many other things, whiche surlye moche grevyd me; ffor I persayvyd your Grace to be nothing content: nevertheles your Highnes determenyd for the mariage to be had." Again he says, "Insomoch that after her protestacyon made beffore your lordes, and your preparacyon to maryage in the mornynge, going thorow your Chamber of presens, your Highnes sayde to me thes woordes or the lyke in centens, 'My Lorde yff yt were not to satysfye the Woorlde and my Realme, I woulde not doo that I shall do this daye ffor non erthelye thing;' and therewith one browght your Grace woord that she was commynge; and theruppon your Grace procedyd to the final determinacion of

^a servants? Fox tells a story that Cromwell foresaw his fall two years before it came: and, that his servants might not suffer, placed money for them in the hands of their respective friends.

^b Burnet has not the smallest mention of this passage. Gregory Cromwell, 18th Dec. 32 Hen. VIIIth., about five months after his father's death, was created baron Cromwell. He married Elizabeth daughter to Sir John Seymour of Wolfhall co. Wilts kn^t. sister to Edward duke of Somerset, and widow of Sir Anthony Oughtred. By her he had three sons and two daughters. See Dugd. Bar. tom. ii. p. 375. The original of the following Letter from this Lady to the King, after her father-in-law's execution, is preserved in the Cottonian Manuscript Vespas. F. XIII. fol. 157.

"After the bounden dewtie of my moste humble submisson unto your excellente Majestie. Whereas it hath pleased the same of your mere mercie and infynyte goodnes, notwithstanding the heynous trespasses and most grevous offences of my Father in lawe, yet so graciouslye to extende your benigne petie towards my pore husbonde and me, as the extreme indigence and povertie wherewith my saide Father in lawes moste detestable offences hath oppressed us, is thereby right moche holpen and relyeved. Lyke as I have of longe tyme bene right desyrous presently as well to render moste humble thankes, as also to desyre contynnuence of the same your Highnes moste benigne goodnes; so consideringe your Grace's moste high and weightie affaires att this presente, feare of molestynge or beyng troublesome unto your Highnes hath diswaded me as yett otherwise to sewe unto your Grace then allonly by thies my moste humble Lettres, untill your Grace's saide affaires shalbe partly overpassed: moste humbly beseeching your Majestie, in the meane seasons, mercifullie to accepte this my moste obeyente sute, and to extende your accustomed petie and gracious goodnes towards my saide pore husbonde and me, who never hath, nor Godde willynge never shall offende your Majestie, but contynually praye for the prosperous estate of the same long tyme to remayne and contynewe.

Your most bonde woman

ELYSABETH CROMWELL."

the Seremonyes usyd" and "after passyd that day honorablie." The remainder of the Letter dwells upon the same topic: and one or two passages are something like what Burnet has printed, and which need not to be reprinted here. "I am a right symple man" Cromwell adds "to be a wytnes in this matyer, but yet I thinke, next your Grace, I know asmoche as anye on man lyvyng in thys Realme dothe; and that this is trewe, God shalbe my wytnes who best knowethe the trowthe." After another mention of the Marriage, he finishes with an ejaculation for the long life, prosperity, and wealth of Henry. The last words upon the last burnt page are "Uppon my knees prostrate pardon, mercy"

There is one passage in this Letter which deserves separate attention. Cromwell says, "And Syr that ever I have dyssayvyd yow in anye of your Treaure, surlye I have . . . and *that* God Almyghtye best knowethe." We are of course to conclude that **NOT** is the word which the Fire of the Cottonian Library has taken from this sentence; but it is curious that the particular of the **CHARGE** of his retaining treasure is preserved in another Volume of the same Collection,* among some original Memoranda of Money paid by virtue of the royal warrant after his apprehension. It probably did him essential harm, and has been hitherto entirely unnoticed.

"May it please your moost excellent Majestie to be advertised that I your most humble servaunt John Gostwyck have in my hands, whiche I treasured from tyme to tyme unknowne unto th'Erl of Essex, *whiche if I had declared unto hym he wolde have caused me to disburse by commaundement,* } x.M. li."
 WITHOUT WARRAUNT, as heretofore I HAVE DON,

We now return to the Letter which is preserved entire. The reader will perceive in it a striking resemblance to some of Wolsey's Letters. It contains almost the same expressions of dejection; with constant and fearful cries for Mercy.

MOSTE gracyous King and most mercyfull Sove-rayng, Your most humble most obbeysaunt and most bounden subiett and most lamentable servaunt & prysoner, prostrate at the feate of your most excellent Magestye, have herd your pleasure by the mowthe of

* MS. Cotton. Append. xxviii. fol. 125.

your Comptroller, which was that I sholde wrytte to your most excellent Highnes suche thinges as I thought mete to be wryttyn consernyng my most miserable state and condicyon; for the whiche your most ha-bundaunt goodnes, benignite, and lycens, the Immortalle God, Three and On, rewarde your Magestye.

And now most gracyous Prynce to the matyer. Fyrst wher I have bene accusyd to your Maiestye of Treason, to that I saye I never in all my lyffe thought willinglye to doo that thing that myght or sholde displease yowr Magestye; and moche lesse to doo or saye that thing which of hit selff is so highe and abhominable offence as God knowyth, who I dowt not shall reueale the trewth to your Highnes. Myn accusors your Grace knowyth; God forgyve them. For as I ever have hade love to your honor, person, lyffe, prosperite, helthe, welthe, Joye, and Comfforte, and also your most dere and most entyerly belovyd son the Prynce his Grace, and your procedinges, God so helpe me in this myn adversyte; and confound me yf ever I thought the contrarye; what labours, paynes, and travayles I have taken according to my most bounden deuty God also knowyth; for yf it were in my power as yt is Godds to make your Magestye to lyve ever yong and prosperows, God knowith I wolde; yf it hadde bene or were in my power to make yow so riche as ye myght enryche allmen, God helpe me as I wolde do hit; yf it hadde bene or were in my power to make

your Magestye so pusaunt as all the woorld sholde be compellyd to obbey yow, Crist he knowyth I wolde; for so am I of all other most bounde; for your Maies-tyes^a hath bene the most bountifull Prynce to me that ever was Kyng to his subiect; ye and more lyke a dere father, your Magestye not offendid, then a master. Suche hathe bene your most grave and godlye counsayles towards me at sundrye tymes. In that I have offended I ax yow mercye. Sholde I now for suche exceding goodnes, benygnyte, liberalyte, & bountye, be your traytor, nay then the gretist paynes wer to lityll for me; Sholde any faccyon or any affeccyon to any poynt make me a traytor to your Mageste, then all the devylles in hell conffounde me, and the vengeance of God light appon me, yf I sholde ons have thought it. Most gracyous Soverayng Lorde to my remembraunce I never spake with the Chauncelor of the Augmentacyons and Frogmerton to gether at on tyme; but yf I dyde I am sure I spake never of any suche matyer; and your Grace knowythe what manner of man Throgmerton hathe ever bene ever towards your Grace, and your procedinges; and what maister Chaunceler hathe bene towards me God and he best knowyth. I will ne can accuse hym. What I have bene towards hym your Magestye right well knowyth. I wolde to Crist I hadde obbeyd your often most gracyous grave cownsayles and advertysmenttes; then

^a *Sic. in orig.*

it hadde not bene with me as now it ys. Yet our Lorde, yf it be his wille, can do with me as he dyde with Susan who was falslye accusyd; unto the whiche God I have onely^a commyttyd my sowlle; my bodye and goodes at your magestyes pleasure, in whos mercye and pyete I doo hollye repose me; for other hope then in God and your Magestye I have not. Syr as to your Common welthe I have after my wytt, power, and knowlege, travaylyd therin, havynge hadde no respect to persons (your Maiestye onely except) and my dewty to the same; but that I have done anye iniustyce or wrong willfullye, I trust God shalbere me wytnes, and the woorld not hable justlye to accuse me. And yet I have not done my dewtye in all thinges as I was bounde, wherfor I aske mercye. Yf I have herde of any conbynacyons, conventycles, or suche as wer offenders of your lawse I have, though not as I sholde have done, for the most parte revealyd them, and also causyd them to be punyshed, not of males^b as God shall judge me. Nevertheles, Sir, I have medelyd in so many matyers under your Highnes, that I am not able to answer them all; but on thing I am well assuryd off, that wittinglye and willinglye I haue not hadde will to offend your Highnes; but harde it ys for me or any other, medlyng as I have done, to lyve under your Grace and your lawse but we must daylye offende: and wher I have offendyd I most humblye aske

^a alone.^b malice.

mercy & pardon at your gracyous will and plesure. Amongst other thinges, most gracyous Soverayng, maister Comptroller shewid me that your Grace shewid hym that within thes xliij days ye commytted a matter of gret secresye which I dyde reaveale contrarie to your expectacyon. Syr I do remembre well the matter, which I never revelyd to any creature; but this I dyde, Syr, after your Grace hadde openyd the matter fyrst to me in your Chamber and declaryd your lamentable fate, declaring the thinges whiche your Highnes myslykyd in the Quene, at whiche tyme I shewyd your Grace that she often desired to speke with me but I durst not, and ye sayd why sholde I not, alleging that I myght do moche good in goeing to her, and to be playn with her in declaring my mynde. I theruppon lakkyng oportunte, not being a lytill grevyd, spake prevely with her Lorde Chamberlayn, for the which I aske your Grace mercy, desyrynge hym, not namyng your Grace to hym, to fynde some meane that the Quene might be inducyd to order your Grace plesauntlye in her behaveor towards yow; thinkyng therbye for^a have hadde some fawtis amendyd to your Magestyes comfort. And after that, by generall woordes, the sayd lord Chamberlayn and other of the Quenes Cownsayle being with me in my Chamber at Westminster for lycens for the departure of the strang maydens, I then requeryd them to counsayle

^a for to.

thayr mastres^a to use all plesauntnes to your Highnes, the which thinges undowtydlye wern^b bothe spokyn before your Magestye comytted the secret matyer unto me, onlye of purpose that she myght have bene inducyd to suche plesaunt and honorable fassions as might have bene to your Gracys comfforde; which above all thinges as God knowyth I dyd most covyt and desyre. But that I openyd my mowthe to any creature after your Magestye comytted the secrecy therof to me, other then onlye to my Lorde Admyrall, which I dyde by your Gracys comaundement, which was uppon Sondaye last in the mornynge, whom I then founde as willing and glade to seke remedye for your comfort and consolacyon, and sawe by hym that he dyd as moche lament your Highnes fate as ever dyd man; and was wonderfullye grevyd to se your Highnes so trowbelyd; wysshing gretlye your comffort, for the attaynyng wherof he sayd, your honor salvyd, he wolde spend the best blood in his belye,^c and yf I wolde not do the lyke, ye and willinglye dye for your comffort, I wolde I were in hell; and I wolde I sholde receyve a thousande dethis. Syr this is all that I have done in that matyer and yf I have offendyd your Mageste therin, prostrate at your Magestes fete I most lowlye aske mercye and pardon of your Highnes. Syr ther was also layde unto my charge at myn examenacyon that I hadde retaynyd contrarye to your lawse.

^a mistress.^b weren, were.^c Sic. in orig.

Syr, what exposycyon may be made uppon retaynowrs I know not, but this will I saye yf ever I retaynyd any man but suche onely as were my howsholde seruauntes, but ageynst my will, God confound me. But most gracyous Soverayng I have bene so called on and sewyd to by them that sayd thay were my frendes, that constraynyd therunto I resayvyd thayr chyldren and freendes not as retaynors, for thayr fathers & parenttes dyd promysse to fynde them, and so toke I theme not as retaynowrs to my great charge, and for none evyll as God best knowythe, interpret to the contrarye who will; most humbly beseching your Magestye of pardon yf I have offendyd therin. Syr I doo knowlage my self to have bene a most myserable and wretchyd synner, and that I have not towards God and your Highnes behavyd my self as I owght and sholde have done: for the which myn offences to God, whyles I lyve, I shall contynwallye kall for his mercye; and for myn offencys to your Grace, which God knowyth wer never malycyous nor willfull, and that I never thought treson to your Highnes, your Realme, or Posteryte, so God helpe me, ayther in woorde or dede. Nevertheles, prostrate at your Magestes^a in what thing soever I have offendyd I appell to your Highnes for mercy, grace, and pardon, in suche wyse as shalbe your plesure; beseching the allmyghtye Maker and Redemer of this Woorld to send yowr Maiestye con-

^a feet omitted.

tynuall and long helth, welthe, and prosperyte, with Nestor's yeres to reigne; and your most dere Son the Prynces Grace to prosper, rayn, & contenew long after yow; and they that wolde contrarye, short lyffe, shame, & confusyon. Wrytin with the quaking hand and most sorowfull herte of your moste sorowfull subieect and most humble servaunt & prisoner this Satyrday at your^a of London.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

"THE ix. daie of July," says Hall, "Thomas lorde Cromewel, late made erle of Essex, as before you have hard, beyng in the Counsaill chamber, was sodainly apprehended and committed to the Tower of London, the whiche many lamented, but mo rejoysed, and speciallye suche as either had been religious men or favored religious persones, for THEI BANQUETED and TRIUMPHED together that night; many wishing that that daie had been seven yere before; and some, fearyng lest he should escape although he were imprisoned, *could not be mery*. Other who knewe nothyng but truth by hym, bothe lamented hym and hartely praied for hym. But this is true that of certain of the Clergie he was detestably hated, and speciallye suche as had borne swynge and by his meanes was put from it, for indede he was a man that in all his doinges semed not to favor any kynde of Popery, nor could not abide the snoffyng pride of some Prelates, whiche undoubtedly, whatsoever els was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought unto; whiche was that the xix. daie of the said monethe he was attaynted by Parliament, and never came to his answer, which lawe many reported he was the causer of the makyng thereof, but the truthe thereof I knowe not. The Articles for whiche he died appereth in the Record where his attaynder is written, whiche are to long to be heere rehersed: but to conclude he was there attainted of heresy and high treason; and the xxviiith. day of July was brought to the skaffold on Tower Hill."^b

Hall next gives his speech upon the scaffold from Redman's copy, who printed it "*Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*."^c "Then," says

^a Tower omitted.

^b Hall, edit. 1548. Hen. VIII. fol. ccxlii.

^c See Harl. MS. 3262.

Hall, "made be his prayer, which was long, but not so long as both godly and learned; and after committed his soule into the handes of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe by a ragged and boocherly miser, whiche very ungoodly performed the office."

In his speech, according to the custom of the time, he desired the people to pray for the King; but made no mention of him in his own prayer afterward, if the copy which Fox has preserved be genuine: for in point of composition it is so much more finished than the speech, and expresses so singular and so sure a confidence in the divine mercy for his former deeds, that it looks more like a compilation made to embalm his memory, than the prayer which he would have been likely to have uttered at the hour of death. The whole is given in the note below.*

Of Cromwell's wit and shrewdness the Reader must have formed no mean opinion. Fox says that in answering those who came to him when prisoner in the Tower, from the King, "whatsoever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished than they themselves. Amongst

* A Prayer that the Lord Cromwell said at the hour of his death.

"O Lord Jesus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee, I wretched sinner do submit myself wholly unto thy blessed will; and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the Devil. I see and knowlege that there is in myself no hope of Salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee; of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap. But yet through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wast born for my sake; thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedest most grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, thou gavest thy most precious body, and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me that thou freely hast done for me, which hast given thyself also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and blood shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord, into thy hands I commit my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit. Amen."

the rest of those Commissioners which came unto him, one there was whom the Lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a Letter to the King, which when he refused, saying that he would carry no letter to the King from a traitor, then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to do for him a message to the King. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other Lords what he had promised, 'You shall commend me,' said he, 'to the King, and tell him He shall find you as false a man as ever came about him.' Besides this he wrote a Letter to the King, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, Sir Ralph Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the King before, being ever trustie and faithful unto him) went unto the King to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the Letter or not, which when the King had granted, the said Master Sadler, as he was required, presented the Letter unto the King, *which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, insomuch as THE KING seemed to be MOVED THEREWITH.*"

Whether the Letter which has been here laid before the Reader was that which moved Pluto to tears, or whether it was the Letter in which Anne of Cleves is mentioned, or any other, for Cromwell wrote several to the King, we are uncertain.

That Sir Ralph Sadler was Cromwell's messenger is probable. He was Cromwell's clerk when the latter was solicitor to Wolsey, and rode with his master from Esher upon that memorable journey when he went *to make or mar*.^a Cromwell made his fortune for him, not only by the employ which he procured for him at Court, but by obtaining for him some large grants of monastic possessions. The Site of the Abbey of Leanes in Kent was granted to him very early after its Dissolution, in the 28th of Henry VIIIth. before Cromwell had secured a single grant for himself.

The Reader may perhaps be curious to know what were the grants of lands, monastic or other, which Henry the Eighth made to Lord Cromwell. The following occur upon the Rolls of the Originalia. In the 26th of Hen. VIIIth. he had the manor of Hackney, in Middlesex, granted to him, and in the 28th Hen. VIIIth. the manors of North Elmham and Beceley. In the 29th Hen. VIIIth. he shared in the plunder of the monasteries, and received a grant of the site and possessions of the rich Priory of Lewes in Sussex, including its Cell of Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire. In the same year he became possessed of the Site and lands of Michelham Priory in Sussex. In the 30th of Henry the Eighth he obtained the Site of Modenden Priory, in Kent, with various other

^a Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, Singer's edit. vol. i. p. 204.

lands in Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Rutlandshire. In the same year he received the manor and Castle of Okeham, in Rutlandshire. In the 31st of Henry the Eighth he obtained the site of Chiche St. Osithe's Priory, in Essex, with other large possessions in Essex, Norfolk, &c.: and in the 32d of Henry the Eighth the site of Launde Priory in Leicestershire.* Tanner says the Monastery of Alcester, in Warwickshire was granted to him, but gives no date.

Such was Thomas Cromwell. Our Historians have united to confer upon him a better character than he deserved. His zeal for Wolsey in the outset of that Minister's fall, and his agency in bringing on the Reformation, have been suffered, if not to veil, certainly to extenuate many acts in his conduct of government which were contrary both to law and right.

LETTER CXLIII.

*Otwell Johnson, a merchant of London, to his brother
John Johnson of the Staple at Calais; on mer-
chandize and news.*

[FROM THE ORIGINAL AMONG HIS MAJESTY'S RECORDS IN THE
TOWER OF LONDON.]

. The first part of this Letter contains some details of mercantile matters, and affords us a notion of the quantum of profit with which a merchant was contented in the time of Henry the Eighth.

The latter part relates to the condemnation and constancy of Anne Askew, who suffered at the stake for differing from Henry upon the subject of the real presence. The report was that she was racked AFTER HER CONDEMNATION; "which is a strange thing," says the writer, "in my understanding. The Lord be merciful to us all."

Something has been said in the Introduction to a former Letter, on the variety in the modes used of burning heretics in England. In the case of Anne Askew and those who died with her, according to Fox, a small quantity of gunpowder was applied, to shorten the pain of the sufferers. He says, "The sermon being finished, the martyrs standing there tied at three

* The memorandum for this grant has been already noticed among his "Remembrances."

several stakes ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people was exceeding, the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench under St. Bartholomew's Church sate Wrisley Chancellor of England, the old Duke of Norfolk, the old Earl of Bedford, the Lord Mayor, with divers others mo. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the bench hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being afraid lest the fagots by strength of the gunpowder would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the Earl of Bedford declaring unto him how the gunpowder was not laid under the fagots, but onely about their bodies to rid them out of their pain, which having vent there was no danger to them of the fagots; so diminished that fear."*

At London the 2^{de} in July, 1546.

BROTHER, with my harty comendacions to you, my systar your wiff (mother to fayre yong boye I trust long befor this tyme), and to my power Mary not being able (as I doubt) to bear nether boy nor wenche, with my brother, Mr. F. and all other our frends in your quarters. This shall lett you understand that sins my comyng to London I have received the Lettres unto you hierin closed or bound with, and have aunswered as moche of them as hath ben in my knowledge, the reste I referre to you.

The things recited in Robert Androwes Lettre I have received, and also by the Shippe that brought the Harlem frizado dyvers other small parcels with thayer prices; viz^t. white threde 4^{lb}. at 28 stivers the ^{lb}.; iij. several ^{lbs} more of 8^s. 4^d., 6^s. 8^d., and 5^s.; a painted Story of the Scripture cost 7^s. sterling; ij.

* Acts and Mon. vol. ii. p. 580.

small tonekins of capers qt. $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. cost 4^s. 6^d. and a thirde qt. a scope of Olyves cost vj^d. I pray you send me word, if you can befor my comyng downe to you agen, what shall be done with thies things. M^{tres}. Smyth wold gladly have some of your threde, but she lyketh not the coursest sorte, and yet I suppose all that sorte was bought for her; let me know if you can shortely of what sortes she shall have anny.

From Calleis yesterday is arryved Rychard Horwoodes shippe, who haeth brought the xij. leight cloethes in ij. cases that Robert Androwes Lettre doethe make mencion of, the same being sent thiether directly from Andwarpe by Peter Symons, and in your absence directed to Robert Mattres my gossep,^a whom I have allowed for freight and charges of the same thiether, and have paid hier the lyke agen, and the king's custome also, which is ij^s. of a peise, so that these frisados stand us in double chargis, and therfor we shall be the lesse gainers by them. I have received them but this day a land, and for that cause have not yett shewed them to any person, but I trust not to kepe them long. The Harlems cost at Andwarpe clear, abourd the shippe 23^l. 1^s. 2^d. sterl^r.; and the custome, freight, and other chargis hier amount to 17^s. sterling, or thereabout; so that thay stond in above 4^{li}. sterling a peise, which is full xvj. grots a yard, and the mon-

^a Intimate friend. The Duke of Buckingham used to write to King James the First, "Dear Dade and Gossorp."

neys accompt but at 25^s.; and yet Thomas Lokke and other men serve Mr. White th'alderman for 5^s. 6^d. sterling the yard of Harlema, and for 5^s. the leightes, which is a very slender reconing in my jugement and skantly wourth a man's venture. Well, if I can dispatche ours for 17 grots and 15½ they shall away, and than you may advise yourself whether you will medle with moo or not.

Your lynnenn cloeth will not yet away nether, for uppon this peace men stay themselves uppon hope of moche more plenty comyng in of all things; and in dede Frensshmen come in dayly with Frenshe wins^a and canvas. Th'exchaunge is up agen above xxiiij^s. as you may perceave by Robert Androwes Lettre, and hier, sins my comyng, it is ryssen to 24^s. 4^d. at sight, and for the payments (so it past not the 15th. of Septembre) at 24^s. 8^d. and some 10^l.; for the last of the same mouneth not under 25^s.

I differre the taking up of any monney for you untill I have made sale of the frisados and lynnenn cloeth, which I intend to do (God willing) befor my comyng downe, though I make my wiff lay withoute my compaigny eight or ten dayes longer than I spake of at my departing, *mais la bouche consue*. Besids the monney that I shal make of the said wares, as I trust, my hope is to have 40 or 50^{li}. of my owne to bring downe with me, and so perchance I shall nede to take but a little

^a wines.

by th'exchange. Be you assured you shalbe charged no further but as veray necessite shall constraine me.

Newes owte of Flanders Robert Androwe doeth write you, and we hier sins that tyme that moost of th'emperours men that he hadde rayseed to do him service agenst the Germaines (as the bruyte went) have refused to warre agenst th'Electors of th'empire, and so he shalbe shrodely served of his pourpos: and furthermore some say that the Germaines will depose Ferdinandus from his Kingdome of Hungary and Seignorie of Osterwike, by cause they will no longer trust anny such papist as he is to be gouverneur of thayer frontiers toward the Turks. What the conclusion of this bruyte will prove unto God knoweth.

In dede my Mr. shewed me on Sonday last that the King hadde newes of vj^{xx}.m. men that th'Emperor was appoynted to rayse veray shortely, and that his quarell agenst the Germaines was not for anny cause of Religion, but for thayer certain disobedience agenst him in things that concerne th'Empire. Moost men ells thinke otherwise, but *vous cognosces l'home*.

Our Newes hier of Dr. Cromes canting, recanting, decanting, or rather double canting, be thies: that on Sonday last, befor my Lorde Chauncelor, the Duke of Norfocke, my Lord Great Mr., Mr. Riche, Mr. Chauncelor of the Tenths, with the Suthwells, Pope, and other nobles and knightes, and on th'other side the Bisshoppes of London and Wourcester, all principal

Doctors and Denes, beside gay grayamesses,^a and a rable of other marked people, the reverent Father just named openly declaired his true measning and right understanding (as he said and according to his conscience) of the vj. or vij Articles you hard of as he shuld have done upon the ij^{de}. Sondag after Ester, but that he was letted from his said true intent by the persuasions of certain perverse mynded persons, and by the sight of lewde and ungodly books and writings, for the which he was very sorry, and desired the audience to be ware of such books, for under the fayer appierance of them was hidden a daungerous accombraunce of Christen conscienses, and so exhorted all men to embrace auncientnes of catholike doctrine, and forsake new fanggelnes.

On Monday following quondam bishopp Saxon, M^{tres}. Askewe, Christofer White, one of M^{tres}. Fayres sons, and a tayliour that come from Colchester or therabout, wer arraigned at the Guyld Hall and received thayer judgement of my Lord Chauncelor and the Counsail to be burned, and so wer comitted to Newegate agen. But sins that tyme, th'aforesaid Saxon and White have renounced thayr opinions, and the talke goeth that they shall chaunce to escape the fyer for this viage: but the gentilwoman and th'other man remayne in stedfast mynd, and yet she hath ben rakked sins her condempnacion (as men say) which is a straunge

^a grey amices.

thing in my understanding. The Lord be mercifull to us all.

With M^{tres}. Fayrer I have communed concerning her monney, and she haeth answered me that when she doeth intend to occupie her monney she will lett me knowe for to write to Robert Androwe to make it over.

Wull^a she haeth bought owte of Hartfordshire some, and owte of Cottiswold she may have at xvj^s. and a grote as moche as she will, good, midle, and refuse, as the Countrey doth give it, and not otherwise; but she dareth not medle with moche withoute your advise therunto, which she requireth you to be certefied of as shortly as you can.

Your milne you forgat to shewe me who shuld have it, and therfor I pray you do it befor my departing hens agen: and my gould pourses I thanke you you kept also.

And thus remembering no mo things but that Mr. Dunne your hoerse haeth a newe master this day in Smythfeld for l^s. sterling, I bidde you moost hartely well to fare. Recommend me I pray you to M^r. Cave and M^{tres}. Cave. In hast,

Yo^r. loving brother

OTWELL JOHNSON

To my loving frend John John-
sone merchant of the Staple at
Calleis, now at Glapthorne.

^a wool.

LETTERS
OF
THE REIGN OF
EDWARD THE SIXTH.

N 2

IN the former Series of this Work, in the Introduction to the Letters of the Reigns of EDWARD THE SIXTH and QUEEN MARY, the Editor expressed his anxiety to enrich his Volumes with Three Letters from Lady Jane Gray to Bullinger the Swiss reformer; copies of which he was at that time unable to procure. He did not then know that any of them had been published. He has since, however, received copies from Zurich, through the hands of a friend who is no longer numbered with the living, and under circumstances which induce him to lay the Transcripts and the Letter which conveyed them, together, before the reader.

“ British Museum,
January 5th, 1826.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ The inclosed Paper will, I think, be received by you as an agreeable New Year’s Gift, and if I am right in this anticipation, I have great pleasure in sending it. I received it to-day, *per Post* from Paris, after I had seen you. It contains a Copy of Lady Jane Gray’s Letters to Bullinger, transcribed with the utmost accuracy from the original in the Zurich Library.

“ You recollect that I was disappointed in my first application concerning these Letters, the person to whom I had written not taking the slightest notice of my request. But about four weeks ago, a Swiss gentleman from Zurich, Dr. Lavater (of the family of the great physiognomist) called upon me on occasion of taking leave previous to his departure from England. I mentioned the subject to him, and he promised to do every thing he could to fulfil my wishes, if not sooner, at least in the Spring, when he should himself be returned to Zurich. Like a true man, he not only has kept his promise in mind, but given it the promptest execution. Instead of waiting, it seems, he immediately wrote to a friend at Zurich, and the latter not only attended most readily to the request made, but has done so with a degree of care and accuracy which has quite delighted me. At the same time, he must have been a man of learning, and a perfect scholar. You see this from the marginal notes which are his, in which all that preciseness and diligence are shown which are met with in the Editor of a classical Author.

“ I have no doubt that this transcript is as minutely accurate and correct as it was possible to make it: and this gives it an additional claim to your notice.

“ These Letters are curious documents, not merely with regard to Lady Jane Gray, and the cultivation and condition of her mind; but also with respect to the age in which they were penned, showing what solidity and depth of learning young females of high birth were capable of attaining. The Latinity is so good and so classical, that I think it would be dan-

gerous for any scholar of the present day to enter into competition with the writer on that score. They are very characteristic under these points of view; and if there are other reasons for inserting them in your work, these will form a strong additional motive.

"Dr. Lavater's friend has, besides, given him the following information:

"1. That these Letters were, some years ago, copied by a Mr. Morgenstein, who printed them in a Programma of the University of Dorpat in Russia.

"2. That they are to be found in Simon's *Voyage en Suisse*.

"3. That the first Letter was published by Simler in a Paper, in which he announced a work *de Reformatione Ecclesiae Anglicanae*."

"This information, though desirable for you to possess, should not have the least influence on your determination to print the Letters; because you are now in possession of a transcript immediately derived from the original source, and with such accuracy, and so perfect, that it would be wrong to omit them. No where will these Letters be so much in their right place as in your work.

Ever yours most truly,

G. H. NOEHDEN."

"To

Henry Ellis, Esq."

JOANNÆ GRAIÆ AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM EPISTOLÆ.

1.

Immortales tibi ago gratias, agamque dum vivam, Vir doctissime: nam relaturam me affirmare non possum; tantis enim tuis officiis non videor mihi respondere posse, nisi forte ita sensurus es, ut me referre gratiam putes, cum memoria tenebo. Neque immerito. Accepi enim a te literas gravissime et disertissime scriptas, quæ quidem mihi gratissimæ erant: tum quod rebus gravioribus omissis ad me, quæ tam eruditi Viri literis indigna sum, scribere e tam longinqua regione hac tua ingra- vescente ætate dignatus es; tum etiam quod eius generis tua scripta sunt, ut non vulgaria quædam ad delectandum, sed pia et divina ad docendum, monendum et consulendum, ea præsertim, quæ et meæ ætati et sexui ac familiæ nostræ dignitati inprimis conveniunt, continere videantur: in quibus, ut in aliis omnibus, quæ in summam Reipublicæ Christianæ utilitatem edidisti, non solum te exquisite doctum et singulari eruditione præditum ostendisti; sed etiam ingeniosum, prudentem et

* These Letters have also been recently printed, though from what copy the Editor is not aware, in Mr. Nicolas's Remains of Lady Jane Gray, accompanied with Translations.

plum consiliarium, qui nihil sapis nisi bona, nihil sentis nisi divina, nihil iubes nisi utilia, et nihil paris nisi honesta, pio et tam observando patre digna. O me felicissimam! cui talis contigit amicus et prudens consiliarius (nam ut SCHELOMO habet וְרֵעִי בְרַב יָדָע)^a quæque jam cum homine tam docto, Theologo tam pio et veræ religionis acerrimo προμαχῶ necessitudinis et amicitiae jure conjuncta sum. Multis de nominibus Deo O. M. me debere puto, et imprimis quod, postquam me pio BUCERO viro doctissimo et patre sanctissimo orhasset, qui dies noctesque πῦξ καὶ λαξ non destitit mihi, quæ ad vitam instituendam et formandam necessaria essent, suppeditare, quique meum in omni probitate, pietate et literarum scientia cursum et progressus provehebat et suis optimis consiliis adhibitis incitabat; te, Vir colendissime! mihi eius loco concessit, qui, ut spero, mihi tardanti et moram trahenti calcaria, ut cœpisti, addere volueris: nihil enim mihi optatius evenire aut accidere potest, quam ut digna huiusmodi clarissimorum Virorum, quorum virtutum nullus satis esse possit præco, literis saluberrimisque consiliis ducar, utque idem mihi contingat quod vel BLESILLÆ, PAULÆ, et EUSTOCHIO, quas divus ille, ut fertur, IERONYMUS instituit et suis concionibus habitis ad divinarum rerum cognitionem perduxit; vel quod mulieri illi ætate confectæ, cui divus JOANNES epistolium quoddam hortatorium et vere theologicum conscripsit, vel quod SEVERI matri, quæ consilio ORIGINIS usa est, eiusque monitis acquievit; quæ omnes non tantum sibi laudis et commodi ex corporis forma, generis nobilitate, et divitiarum copiis comparaverunt, quantum gloriæ et felicitatis ex prudentissimorum virorum consiliis hauserunt, eo quod non dedignabantur homines illi tam singulari eruditione et admirabili pietate conspicui eas quasi manu ad optima quæque ducere, et quæ ad salutem æternam et futuræ vitæ felicitatem maximum haberent momentum suggerere. Quod ut tu mihi facere digneris, cum neque ingenio, nec eruditione, nec pietate infimus inter eos omnes haberi debeas, iterum atque iterum a te peto. Audacula tibi videar oportet, quæ tam audacter hoc efflagito: sed si consilii mei rationem respicere volueris, nempe quod ex pietatis tuæ penu ea depromere cupiam, quæ cum ad mores formandos, tum ad fidem in CHRISTO servatore meo confirmandam conducere queant, hoc quod facio mihi vitio vertere nec pro tua humanitate poteris, nec pro tua prudentia volueris.

Ex libello illo veræ et non fucatæ religionis pleno,^b quem nuper ad Patrem et me misisti, tanquam ex horto amœnissimo flores suavissimos colligo, et Pater etiam, dum per gravissima negotia licet, in eius lectione quotidie sedulo versatur. Quem autem inde uterque reportabimus fructum, de eo tibi et DEO propter te immortales gratias agere debemus.

^a Proverb. xi. 14. Salus in multitudine consiliariorum.

De perfectione Christianorum, ad HENRICUM II. Gall. Reg.

Non enim æquum esse putamus, ut per te tuique similes, quos non paucos hac in parte felicissima parit Germania, a Deo O. M. tot tantaque vere divina dona ingratīs accipiamus animis. Solemus enim homines hominibus, ut par est, beneficiis beneficia compensare, et donorum collatorum memores nos præstare: quanto magis igitur operam navare debemus divinæ bonitati, si non ex omni parte respondere, at saltem lætis animis, quæ confert, amplecti, et ex animo pro illis gratias agere?

Nunc ad laudes, quas mihi tribuunt tuæ literæ, venio, quas ut nec vendicare, ita nullo modo agnoscere debeo; sed quidquid mihi divina bonitas largita est, id omne acceptum illi refero, tanquam mearum rerum omnium, quæ virtutis aliquam speciem habent, Autori summo et soli, quem meo nomine rogēs velim, ornatissime Vir, assiduīs tuis precibus, ut me hac in parte measque rationes omnes ita moderetur, ut tanta eius benignitate non indigna reperiar.

In animum induxerat illustrissimus Pater meus ad tuam humanitatem scribere pariterque gratias agere pro tuis præclare susceptis laboribus et singulari illa humanitate, qua inductus es suo nomine Sermonum quintam decadem inscribere eiusque auspiciis in lucem edere; nisi gravissimis regiæ majestatis negotiis in ultimos Britannię fines fuisset advocatus; sed ubi per publicas occupationes vacabit, quem diligentissime ad te scribere se velle affirmat. Postremo hebraicari iam incipienti mihi si viam et modum aliquem ostenderis, quem in hoc studiorum cursu tenere maxima cum utilitate debeam, me longe Tibi devinctissimam reddideris. Vale, totius Ecclesiæ Christianæ summum decus et ornamentum, et te diu nobis suæque Ecclesiæ superstitem servet Deus Optimus Maximus.

Tuæ Pietati deditissima

JOANNA GRAIA.

II.

Facere non possum, ni nimis ingrata officii immemor, et beneficiis tuis indigna videri velim, Vir Ornatissime, quin in singulas res meritaque tua, quæ plurima fuerunt, gratias tibi ingentes agam. Quanquam me hercule et id cum pudore facio: neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, neque tot beneficia a te in me his prorsus indignam collata tantummodo gratiarum actionem videntur desiderare,* neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili orationis munere defungor. Hoc etiam nonnihil angit animum meum, cum ad literas, quas tanto viro darem, excogitandas quam parum idonea sin. mecum perpendo. Neque certe meis naniis puerilibusque nugis tuam gravitatem perturbare, aut tanta barbarie tuæ eloquentiæ obstrepere vellem atque auderem: nisi et nullo me alio modo tibi gratificari posse scirem,

* *Scriptit Joanna desiderare; et paullo ante tantummodo.*

et de tua solita satisque perspecta mihi humanitate haud dubitarem. De literis autem, quas proxime abs te accepi, sic habeto. Posteaquam semel atque iterum (nam semel non videbatur satis) eas legissem, tantum fructum reportasse ex tuis præclaris et vere theologicis præceptis^a visa sum, quantum ex diuturna optimorum auctorum lectione vix eram assequuta. Suades ut veram sinceramque in Christo servatore meo fidem amplectar tibi in hac parte. Ὅσον ἡ θεὸς θέλει: enitar satisfacere. Sed donum Dei agnosco eam esse, et proinde tantum polliceri debeo, quantum Dominus impertierit, neque tamen cum Apostolis orare desistam: ut eam mihi sua benignitate in dies augere velit. Huic etiam eam deo juvante, ut jubes, adiungam vitæ puritatem, quam meæ heu nimium infirmæ vires præstare poterunt. Tu interea pro tua pietate in oratione tua mei quotidie facias mentionem rogo. Ad Hebraicæ linguæ studium eam ingredior viam, quam tu fidelissime monstras. Vale. Et Deus te in hac suscepta abs te provincia tueatur et provehat æternum.

Tibi ad omnia pietatis officia paratissima,

JOANNA GRAIA.

Externa epistolæ inscriptio manu Joannæ: Colendissimo viro Henrico Bullingero hæ tradantur literæ. Inferius, alia manu: Ducis Suffolciæ F. 1552.

III.

Sera officii recordatio reprehendi non debet, præsertim si nulla negligentia prætermissa est, Vir doctissime: longe enim absum: pauci sunt tabellarii: audio autem sero. Sed iam cum eum habeam γραματοφορον,^b cuius opera et meæ tibi et tuæ mihi tradi solent literæ, officio meo deesse non debui quin ad te scribendo et verbis optarem optime et re haberem gratiam quam diligentissime. Tanta enim tua apud omnes auctoritas,^c tanta in prædicando, ut audio, gravitas, tantaque, ut qui te norunt referre solent, vitæ integritas, ut tuis non solummodo dictis, sed etiam vitæ moribus tam peregrinæ et exteræ nationes, quam etiam ea quam ipse incolis patria magis ad bene beateque vivendum incitentur. non enim tantummodo, ut Jacobus habet, evangelii et sacrorum dei mandatorum ebuccinator et prædicator diligens, sed eius etiam effector et operator verus es, eaque vita præstas quæ verbis imperas, minime temet ipsum fallens. Nec equidem his similis es qui externam suam faciem in speculo considerent, et quamprimum discesserint, qualis eius forma fuerit, oblivioni tradunt; sed et vera et sincera prædicas, et vivendi ratione aliis, ut id sequantur quod et iubes et facis, exemplo et παραδείγματι,^d es.

^a Scripsit preceptis. Paullo post autorem et synceramque. Græca autem, ut dedi, cum accentu.

^b Sine accentu.

^c Scripsit auctoritas. Post solummodo, peregrinæ, tantummodo, consyderent.

^d Sine accentu.

Sed quid hæc ad tuam gravitatem scribo, cum tanta mea barbaries sit, ut nec digne tuam pietatem laudare, nec satis vitæ integritatem encomiis^a celebrare, nec, prout convenit, suspiciendam et admirandam doctrinam enarrare possit. Opus enim esset, ut, si prout veritas postulat, te collaudarem, Demosthenis vel facundiam vel Ciceronis eloquentiam haberem. Tanta enim tua sunt merita, ut cum et tempus satis longum, tum etiam ingenii acumen et sermonis elegantiam plus quam puerilem ad ea explicanda desiderent. Tantum enim in te sibi, ut apparet, placuit deus, ut et te suo regno et huic mundo adaptaverit. In hoc enim terreno vitæ ergastulo ætatis cursum transigis, quasi mortuus esses, cum tamen vivis, idque non solum primum Christo, sine quo nulla vita esse potest, et deinde tibi, sed etiam infinitis aliis, quos ut ad eam immortalitatem quam ipse assequutus^{ra} ^{es}^b posteaquam ex hac vita migraveris, diis volentibus perducas strenue laboras et assidue conaris, utque id tua pietas effectum reddat quod cupit. Deum *πατροεστερα*^c omnium rerum bonarum largitorem precari non cessabo eiusque divinas aures, ut diu in hac vita superstes sis, pulsare non desinam. Hæc ad te audacius quam prudentius scripsi: sed tua in me beneficia tanta exstiterunt, qui ad me tibi incognitam scribere et quæ ad animum ornandum et mentem expoliendam necessaria essent suppeditare dignatus es, merito negligentiae incusari et officii oblita videri possem, si omnimodo me tui tuorumque meritum memorem hæud præberem. magnæque præterea mihi spes est, te huic meæ plus quam muliebri audaciæ, quæ virgo ad virum, et indocta ad eruditæ patrem scribere audeam, ignoscere, et meæ barbariei, quæ te gravioribus rebus occupatum meis tricis, nænilis et puerilibus literis perturbare non dubitem, veniam dare velle. Quod si a te impetravero, me multis nominibus tuæ pietati debere plurimum, existimabo. si quid enim hæc in parte peccatum fuerit, mei erga te tuasque virtutis^d amoris abundantiae potius tribuendum est, quam vel audaciæ, quæ in nostrum sexum cadere nullo modo debet, vel temeritati, quæ *τη της κρισεως δυναμις*^e valde adversari solet. Splendor siquidem tuarum dotum ita mentis meæ aciem vel cum tua lego, vel cum de te cogito, perstringit, ut non quid meæ conveniat conditioni, sed quid tuæ debetur dignitati, in mentis meæ cogitationem veniat. Ceterum^f hic fluctuare animus solet atque in diversas distrahi partes, dum quid mea ætas, sexus et in literis mediocritas, imo infantia potius, postulat, mecum considero. quæ, cum singula, tum universa multo magis, a scribendi officio deterrent. Contra autem cum tuarum virtutum præstantiam, famæ tuæ celebritatem et meritum

^a Scripsit encomiis. Post pro ut.

^b Sic *suprascriptum* manu Joannæ, literis paullo minoribus; sine commate.

^c Sine accentu.

^d Sic, antiqua forma accusativi.

^e Sine accentibus.

^f Scripsit cæterum.

teorum erga me magnitudinem intaeor, superior inferiori^a cogitatio cedit, το πρῶτον μου^b dignitati tuae; et plus apud me, quod tua postulant merita, quam quod alia suadent omnia, valere solet. Reliquum autem est, Vir Clarissime, ut vehementer a te petam meo nomine viro illi inclyto et eruditione, pietate gravitateque antesignano, nomine Bibliandro, mihi tamen incognito, salutem ex animo dicere. Tantum enim eius in nostra patria eruditionis famam audio, tamque illustre eius nomen apud omnes ob singulares animi dotes a Deo illi concessas esse accipio, ut nolens volens huiusmodi viri cælitus, ni fallor, nobis emissi pietatem sinceritatemque amplecti, quæ paululum cognitionis consecuta sum, cogar; et ut diu huiusmodi Ecclesiæ columnæ, qualis^c vos estis, prospera sint valetudine Deum precor. Tuae autem Gravitati bene optare, ob humanitatem mihi ostensam gratias agere, et multum valere iubere, quamdiu spirare licuerit, non desinam. Vale, Vir Doctissime.

Tuæ pietati deditissima

JOANNA GRAIA.

Inscriptio externa ab alia manu: Doctissimo simul ac colendissimo viro Domino Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ ministro, hæc redantur Literæ.

SIR William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, in "A brief Note of his Submission to Queen Mary," alluding to the Letter which was signed by the Lady Jane Gray as Queen, printed in the former Series of this work, says "I eschewed the wryting of the Quene's Highness *bastard*, and therefore the Duke^d wrote the Lettre himself, which was sent abroode in the Realm."^e Cecil, however, with all his subtlety was unable to worm himself into the favor of Queen Mary.

^a In autographo est extrema linea sup, tum ob chartam paululum discissum nonnullarum syllabarum lacuna. Initio sequentis lineæ est feriori cogitatio.

^b Sine accentu.

^c Sic, forma antiqua.

^d The Duke of Northumberland.

^e See MS. Lansd. N^o. 104. art. 1.

LETTER CXLIV.

William Thomas clerk of the Council, to King Edward the Sixth; presenting a List of Questions in History and Policy for his improvement.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. II. fol. 96. Orig.]

* * The education of an infant Sovereign, in all ages and in every country, is an object of anxious solicitude; that of an orphan prince infinitely more anxious. Nor can we wonder that individuals should be found stepping out of their way to offer schemes for advancing his instruction.

King Edward the Sixth, in the Journal of his own life still preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts, says, he "was brought up till he came to six years old among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by Mr. Doctor Cox who was afterwards his almoner, and John Cheke, M^r. of Arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language." ^a

With none of these fixed plans did William Thomas interfere. He merely proposed a series of questions calculated to draw from those to whom they might be put valuable information upon subjects of History and State-policy. From his situation as clerk of the Council, it is not improbable that they were drawn up by the desire of the Protector Somerset; and intended as the materials for conversation between Edward and those who were about him, in the intervals of study.

Of WILLIAM THOMAS an Account will be found in Wood's *Athenæ*, and in Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*. Strype has printed some other papers addressed by him to King Edward the Sixth, from the Cottonian Manuscript *Vespasian D. xviii.* ^b He appears to have been made clerk of the Council about 1549. On the accession of Queen Mary he was deprived of his employment at Court, and is said to have meditated the death of the Queen; for which, or some other treasonable enterprise, he was executed at Tyburn May the 18th. 1553; having previously attempted to destroy himself.

^a MS. Cotton. Nero C. x.

^b His "*Perygrine*" in this Collection, addressed to Peter Aretine, in defence of Henry the Eighth, has not been printed.

To the Kings Highnes.

PLEASETH your excellent Ma^{tie}. albeit that my grosse knowledge be utterly unapte to entreprise th' Instruction of any thinge unto your Highnes, whose erudicion I knowe to be suche as everie faithfull hert ought to rejoyse at: yet imagining with myself that hitherto your Majestie hath more applied the studie of the tonges than any matter either of Historie or of Policie, (the Holie Scriptures excepted,) and considering that (syns your Highnes is by the providence of God alreadie growen to the admynistracon of that great and famouse chardge that hath been lefte unto yow by your most noble Progenitors) there is no earthlie thinge more necessarie than the knowledge of such examples as in this and other regiments heretofore have happened: me thought of my bounden dutie I could no lesse do than present unto your Ma^{tie}. the Notes of those Discourses that are nowe my principall studie, which I have gathered out of divers aucthors, entending with layssor to write the circumstances of those reasons that I can finde to make most for the purpose. And because there is nothing better learned than that which man laboureth for himself, therefore I determined at this present to give unto your Highnes this little Abstracte only. Trusting that liek as in all kinde of vertuouse Learning and Exercise ye have alwaies shewed yourself most diligent, even so in this parte which concerneth the chief mayntenance of your high

astate, and preservation of your Common Wealthe, your Majestie woll shewe no lesse industrie than the matter deserveth. For, though these be but Questions: yet there is not so small a one emongest them as woll not mynister matter of much discourse worthie the argument and debating; which your Highnes may either for passetye or in earnest propone to the wisest men. And whan so ever there shall appeare any difficultie that your Majestie wolde have discussed, if it shall stande with your pleasour I shall most gladly write the circumstance of the best discourses that I can gather tooching that parte, and accordingly present it unto your Highnes: most humbly beseching the same to accepte my good will in as good parte as if I were of habilitie to offer unto yo^r Ma^{tie} a more worthy thinge.

Yo^r Ma^{ty}. most humble servaunt

WILLIAM THOMAS.

1. Whereof hath growen th'authoritie of Astates, and howe many kindes of Astates there be?

2. Which of all Astates is most commendable and necessarie?

3. Wheather a moltitude without heade may prosper?

4. Wheather is wiser and more constant, the Moltitude or the Prince?

5. Wheather is it better for the Commonwealthe

that the power be in the Nobilitie . or in the people?

6. Wheather a meane Astate may beare a great subject?

7. What Lawes arr necessarie, and howe they ought to be mainteigned?

8. Howe easelie a weak Prince with good ordre may longe be mainteigned, and howe sone a mightie Prince with little disordre may be destroyed?

9. What causeth an enheritor King to loose his Realme?

10. Wheather Religion, besides the honor of God, be not also the gretest staie of Civile ordre? and wheather the Unitie thereof ought not to be preserved with the swearde and rigor.

11. Wheather of the twoo is the more unkinde, the People or the Prince?

12. Howe Unkindenesse may be eschewed?

13. What is th'occasion of Conspiracies?

14. Wheather the People commonly desire the destruction of him that is in aauthoritie, and what moveth them so to do?

15. What a man of authoritie may do in the Multitude?

16. What is to be observed in chooseng of Officers?

17. Howe flatterers arr to be knowen and despised?

18. Howe mennes opinions in great matters arr to be pondered?

19. Wheather in Judgements the meane waie ought to be observed ?

20. Wheather a man of auctoritie ought to contempne his inferiors ?

21. Howe dangerouse is it to leape from Humilitie unto Pride, and from Pitie unto Creweltie ?

22. Wheather men may easelie be corrupted ?

23. Howe much good mynisters ought to be rewarded and the evill punished.

24. Howe daungerouse it is to be auctor of a newe matter ?

25. Wheather accusations arr necessarie, and wheather yll reaportes arr condempnable.

26. Wheather yll Reaporte lighteth not most commonly on the Reaporter ?

27. Wheather ambitious men, mounting from one ambicion to an other, do first seeke not to be offended, and afterwards to offende ?

28. Wheather it be daungerouse to make him an Officer that ones hath been misused.

29. Wheather they be not often deceived that thinke with humilitie to overcome Pride.

30. What force the Prince's example hath emongest the Subjectes ?

31. Howe a Prince ought to governe himself to attaigne reputacion ?

32. What thinges deserve either praise or reproache ?

33. What is Liberalitie and Miserie ?

34. What is Creweltie and Clemencie?
35. Wheather Hate and Dispraise ought to be eschewed?
36. What is Fortune?
37. Howe men be oftentimes blinded with fortune?
38. Wheather it be not necessarie for him that woll have contynuall good fortune, to varie with the tyme?
39. What Prince's amytie is good?
40. Wheather a puissant Prince ought to purchase amitie with money? or with vertue and stowtenes?
41. What trust ought to be had in Leages?
42. What is the cause of Warre?
43. Howe many kindes of Warre there be?
44. Howe many kindes of Souldeors?
45. Wheather they that fight for their owne glorie arr good and faithfull souldyors?
46. Why do men overrenne straunge countreys?
47. Howe shulde a Prince measure his force, and howe rule himself in warre?
48. Wheather a manifest warre towards, ought to be begonne upon th'ennemye, or abidden till th'ennemye beginne?
49. Wheather is it better to assaulte or to defende?
50. Wheather money be the substaunce of warre or not?
51. Wheather weake Astates arr ever doubtfull in determyneng and wheather much deliberacion doth rather hurte than helpe?

52. Wheather is greater in Conquest, vertue or fortune?

53. Wheather prevaileth more in fortune, Policie or Force?

54. What is Policie in warre?

55. Wheather Conquests arr not sometime more noysome than profitable?

56. Wheather it be wisdomes to adventure much?

57. What meanes ought to be used in defence?

58. Wheather the Countrey ought not alwaies to be defended, the quarell being right or wronge?

59. Wheather inconveniences ought rather to be qualified and overcome with layssour, or at the first plainly repressed?

60. What daunger is it to a Prince not to be avenged of an open Injurie?

61. What discommoditie is it to a Prince to lacke Armure?

62. Howe much ought Artillerie to be esteemed?

63. Wheather ought more to be esteemed, Footemen or Horsemen?

64. Wheather it be not daungerouse to be served of straunge soulddeors?

65. Wheather is an Armie better governed of one absolute head, or of divers?

66. What ought the Generall of an Armie to be?

67. Wheather is more to be esteemed a good Cap-

taine with a weake Armye, or a stronge Armye with a weak Captaine?

68. Wheather it be necessarie that generall Captaines have large Commissions?

69. What advantage is it to foresee the ennemys purpose?

70. Wheather a Captaine in the felde may forsake the feight if his ennemye woll nedes feight?

71. What it is to be quicke of Invention in the time of battaill?

72. What sufferaunce and tyme is in Feight?

73. Wheather it be necessarie to assure th'armie before the feight?

74. Wheather it be not necessarie sometime to feigne folie?

75. Howe to beware of crafte, when th'ennemie seemeth to have committed a folie?

76. What advauntaige it is for a Captaine to knowe his grounde?

77. Wheather Skyrmisses be good?

78. Wheather Fortresses arr not many times more noysome than proffitable?

79. Wheather an excellent man doth alter his cowraige for any adversitie?

80. Wheather Princes ought to be contented with resonable victories? and so to leave?

81. Wheather Furie and Braverie be many times necessarie to obteigne purposes?

82. Wheather Promises made by force ought to be observed?

83. Wheather it becommeth not a Prince to pretende liberalitie when necessitie constreigneth him to depart with thinges.

84. What is vertue, and when is it most esteemed?

85. What destroyeth the memorie of things?

It becometh a Prince for his wisdom to be had in admiracion aswell of his chiefest Counsaillors as of his other subjects; and syns nothing serveth more to that than to kepe the principall things of wisdom secrett till occasion require the utterance, I wolde wishe them to be kept secret; referring it neverthesse to your Majesties good will and pleasor.

LETTER CXLV.

Thomas Barnabe to Sir William Cecil, proposing methods of distressing the French. A. D. 1552.

[MS. LANSD. 2. art. 85. Orig.]

AFTER my mooste humbliest comendacions unto your Mastership, yt shalle please you to be advertysed, that I have ben of late with the Comysionars of France that be here com; the which is Mons^r. Aubery lieute-

o 2

nant civill of Parys, and Mons^r. Du Val, advocate for the kinge of Newehaven, Homfleut and Harfleut, the which be ryght honest gentlemen, and speke well, and saye that they are not alonlye sente to comon^a with us as the people makethe reporte of them, but to make restitution; and one of them also sayd unto me, that our people be verye desirous here to have warre with them, and that we shoulde not fynde the realme of France after the sorte that we did for vj score yeaes agone when we did conquere yt, for, he sayd, than that the Duke of Normandy, & the Duke of Brytayne, and the Duke of Bourgoigne were all iij against the Frenche kinge, and nowe that is knytt all to one realme; and that we maye see what greate hurte we have don them with the warres, that my lorde of Northfolke and my lorde of Suffolke and the Kings Majestie have don, and what towne we can showe that we doe holde: but onlye have spent out all our ritches, and destroyed a greate nombre of subjectes, and lefte all our monnye in Flanders, Heynou, and Artous to the utter destruction of our realme. The which I answered hym agayne to my simple wytte, that I have hadde as motche experience in France or in those parties, as motche as anye man in the Realme of Englande; and was marryed there for xxxviij yeres agone, and sence I have hadde saveconduites of the Kings Majestie, whereuppon hath growen greate sutes & to my utter un-

^a commune.

dowynge, soe that I dare be bolde to saye that there is never a porte, haven, or baye betwene Bouloigne and Bourdeaux, but I knowe hym; and as for the realme of France besyde, I ought to knowe yt, for I have ben xxviiij viages in France in poste for the Kings Majestie, & contynuallye there all the while that my lorde of Winchester^a and master Wallop were there; and likewise by my lorde of London^b and my lorde Pachettes^c dayes, and somewhat I gathered there amongst them; for I thinke there weare few men that was sente soe manye tymes to the Counsell privylye, for bye matters as I was; for the Embassadours wente never to the Corte but for the Kinges previe affayres, but alwais yt was my-chance to be sente for everye mans matters: wherfore there was nother the Chancelour nor the Cardynall of Lorayne, nor the Cardinall of Parys, nor the Admyrall, nor the Cunstable, whiche have continewed longest in favor, but I have knowen them all: and as for the Cunstable, somewhat I can saye of hym; I thinke he be one of the doblest & dissemblingst gentlemen that is in the worlde; for there is no more assurance of his worde then to holde an ele by the tayle; but will speak fayre, & promise fayre, & worke the contrarye; and besyde all this I promyse you of my faythe, he is as popishe as I am Englishe, and alwaies hath been, for the which my lorde of Winchester nor Mr. Wallop did not hate hym, for I doe knowe yt, for I was sente

^a Bishop Gardiner.^b Bishop Bonner.

Paget's.

dyvers viages by my Lorde Crumwell, and perceived howe the matter wente, for the which theye sayd bothe of them that I was my lorde Crumwelles spye, and soe I am assured that theye tolde the Cunstale one daye ; but I cared not, for I hadde the King my masters proceedinges hanginge in myne eyee, and as Paull sayethe, ' I am that I am.' God knowith my poore harte, how motche I doe tender the wealthe and prosperyte of myne owne nacion ; and that I am sory from the botom of my harte to thinke that they of France excepte^a us to be grossed natured people and covetous, and theye have sayed unto me or nowe, that yf we hadde never so ranke or malicious warre with them they knowe howe to by us for monye, the which me thinkethe weare a strange thinge. Howebeit that it was seene by my Lorde Cardinales dayes, for he hymselfe toke iiij hondreth thowsande Crownes for to make peace betwene the Frenchemen and us: the which then was not a lyttell spoken of in France. I woulde wishe to God that we did knowe our owne strenght and poure, and what portes, bayes, and havens we have that other Realmes have not ; yt is unknowen, but in all France be barde havens,^b and yet by reason that they maintayne their fishinge and theyr thevinge, there is more maryners in one towne there, then is here from the landes ende to St. Mychelles Mounte. I have sene com owte at one tyde in Dieppe five hondred and fyve botes ; and in everye bote x or xii men ; the which was

^a accept.^b havens having bars at the entrance.

a marvelous matter to see, howe they be maintaynid by fyshinge, and what ritches theye gette by the See, and howe theye mantayne their townes and portes; and as for us, lette us begynne at Sandwiche, and goe to Dover, Hyde,^a and Hastings, & to Willchense,^b and se howe they goe downe for lacke of maintenance, and in a manner no maryners in them; which is for lacke of good pollicye to set them a worke, which Sir, yf yt please the Cownsell to understande those thinges that I will shoue you, they shall sette vj or vij thowsand maryners a worke more then theris, in that thinge that France can lyve no more withowte, then the fyshe withowt water; that is to saye Newe-castell Coles; which withowte that, they can nother make stele worke, nor metall worke, nor wyer worke, nor goldsmythe worke, nor gones, nor no manner of thinge that passethe the fier. And as for them, ye shall se in peace time iij or iiij score of ships of Normans and Brytons at ones, as soone as theyr fishinge is done, and as theye be departed comethe as manye moe; so that I occupying saveconduytes in France, have bought coles at Newcastell for ij^s. & ij^d. a chauldron & for xiiij^{teen} nobles have solde them agayne in France. Also the Vice-amerall of Normandy, Mons^r. De May, and the Vicounte of Dieppe have prayed me to bringe in Newcastell Coles, and I shoulde have any other manner of comodyte that they hadde within the Realme, whether yt were poldaries for saylis, or any other thinge. Nowe,

^a Hithe.^b Winchelsea.

maye you see what a comodyte is this small thinge to this realme, soe that me semethe yf the kinges Majestie would take in these coles into his owne handes & lette no other ships but Englishe ships fetche them at Newecastell; and soe to bringe them into Kente, and make a staple in sutche place as shoulde be thought necessary, you sholde not only sette a wonderfull sorte of maryners a worke, but also it sholde be a greate strenght to the realme, and spetially to the cuntry of Kent; the which is verye lene of men by the see syde; consydering the premysses aforesayde of the goinge downe of the townes. Also it is not unknowen but that the Frenche kinge hath taken the salte into his owne handes & hathe gruntiers in every towne to sell yt to his proffyte. Nowe maye you waye that the one is vittayle & the other is fuell, also is it but reason we shoulde avance our owne comodyte, as well as they do theirs, to maintayne our owne subjectes withall. Also I woulde wyshe that their shoulde nother fuel nor vittayle goe owte of the realme but uppon Englishe botomes. Moreover I have sene goe owte at one tyde owte of Rie together xxxvij^{tie} Hoyes laden with woode and tymber, and never an Englishe maryner amongst them; which is a wonderfull dyscomodyte to this Realme. I have greate marvaile that these things have ben soe longe forgotten, which is soe necessary a thinge to be spoken of. And nowe Sir, I praye you, speke we of the citie of London, there be so many notable marchantes and ritche halles of landes; some

maye spende viij hondred pounce, som vj hondred, som lesse and som more ; and greate reueneue com to them yerelye for quartrayes and forfeitures, which rysethe to no small som ; and nothings don withall, but make grete feastes everye monthe or vj wekes at theyr halles, and cause vyttailles to be dere ; but yt myght be tord to a more honorabler use. Also yt woulde be a greate maintayninge to the kinges subjectes for every Crafte to have a Shippe to carye theyr marchandyses to and fro, to the greate avancement of the kinges honor and to theyr owne comodities &, yf chance sholde fall, which God forbydde, that a Ship sholde be loste, the Halles myght easelye bere the smartes therof. I thinke there is never a Cytie in Christendome, havinge the occu-pyng that this citie hathe, that is so slenderlye provided of Ships, havinge the See coming to yt as this hathe.

I have harde of late moche complaininge for Englishe ships to lade gooddes into Spayne and other places, and there is none to be hadde : yf this thinge hadde ben thought on in tyme, happelye this whorle borle^a of takinge of our shippes sholde not have chanced ; for the frenchemen doe aledge, that yt was the Spanyardes goodes and other of the Emperours subjectes, wherfore I praye God that this matter maye be loked uppon in tyme to com.

Nowe I com to your Mastership with an other matter, yf so be yt that we shoulde warre with them,

^a hurly-burly.

(as God defende,) for ther is no man of God but he will seake peace, I knowe a towne in Normandy, which yf it were oures, we shoulde kepe France & Normandye subjecte; is yt possible to be beleved? yea, as sure as the livinge God lyvethe, I have known within this xxxviiijth yere there was but iij howses, ij howses to laye cables and ancrs in, and the other a vittailinge howse, and at this present daye I thinke there be iij thowsande; yt is nowe a seconde Rone, & yt is the verye gulfe, gulet, and mouthe of the See, and a make-peace yf we hadde yt; it is all the Frenche kinges joye, and he callyth the maryners of that towne his maryners, his pylates, & his theves; they be maintaynid, & take of us, of the Portugalls, and of the Spanyardes; all is fyshe that comethe to nette, theya will have a pece of everye man. Now Sir, where as the chefe of the Frenche kinges revenewe is levelled uppon salte as afore sayd, yet can it not be brought into France nor Normandy, but yt muste com in danger of that towne, for the Canell^a liethe of that syde of the lande betwene Polhed and that haven; nother no marchandises owte of what realme soever yt comethe, but it muste goe by that waye; and also there can nothinge com owte of France, nother wyne of Ansurois, nor wyne of Bayon, nor wine of Orleans, nor wyne of Parys, nor any other marchandyses that is made in Parys or Rone to goe to any other realme, beyng carried by water, but yt muste nede passe that waye;

^a canal.

nother no armye that the Frenche king can sende owht to Scotlande, nor to vyttaille his armye to the See, but it is all sette forthe there, I can not tell what I should wryte more of yt, for it is so commodious. There was one of the wittiest heddes in all Crystendome of a marchante, which showed me ones standinge there together, that we neded none other rodde to scorge Normandye and France, but only that, yf we hadde yt; and I showed the same to my lorde Crumwell, and he sente me thether uppon the kinges coste, and I drewe a placke of yt, & brought yt to hym; the French kinge was there the same tyme, & the Admyrall Brian, and the Cunstable that is now, were there ix dayes to vewe yt, & to caste yt ditches, and over that theye made a crye that whatsoever wolde com and buylde there at Newehaven shoulde have his foundation and coste hym nothinge; and soe after my cominge home, my lorde Crumwell conferred the matter with me and my lorde Fitzwilliams that was then lorde amerall, better then iij or iiij owres pervewing the placket, & sayde yf he lived, and that warres shoulde happen that shoulde surelye be remembred, for yt was worthe the heringe; and soe he put me to the Kinge, and soe travailled in his Graces affayres xxviiij^{tie} viages, bothe in France, Spayne and Italye, and founde hym always good lorde unto me, or els I hadde ben a verye poore man; for I hadde ij ships taken by the Frenchemen for xxvj^{tie} yeres agone, and have hadde contynuall

sute with them & never coulde brynge yt to an ende, but was fayne to leve yt and followe the Kinges afayres; and hadde thinges manye tymes to saye to my lorde of Winchester concerninge the Kinges proceedinges, the which might not well awaye withall, nor Jarmyne Gardener his secreтарыe. And soe whan my lorde Crumwell died, I fered my lorde of Winchester, and soe ceassed & fell to my sute agayne in France; for I hadde manye a hevye looke for hym of Mr. Walloppe; and he sayd that my greate God was gone, and that there was none longinge to hym but spies and heretikes, but as for me I did those thinges that I was commanded to doe by those dayes. And nowe for asmoche as I doe see the gloriosnes of the Frenchemen, and howe theye doe rejoyse of their robberyes, I can doe no lesse but certiffie your Mastership, that, as I knowe; for yf we will knowe our owne strenght theyr corage shalbe bated well ynoughe; for kepe them from fishinge and geve no saveconduites, and kepe them from Newcastle Coles, and they are not able to lyve. Or yf the westerne men have leave to goe to the see & take what they can, and mantayne a lyttel pretye Ile called Oldernay, wheras I have ben or nowe, and stande in the toppe of the Castle in a clere daye, and sene a man ryde a horsbacke in France, & nother the Brytons nor the Gascons can conveye any thinge into France or in Flanders, but they muste com betwixt the shore and them. Yt is an other manner of thinge

then it is taken, for I woulde wysse from the botom of my harte that yt myght be looked uppon, yt woulde make the Brytons and the Normans & the Gascons to stope. I have or nowe advertysed all this to my Lorde of Somerset, bothe by wrytinge and by mowthe, and his Grace hathe wrytten me a letter to com to hym and conferre certayne matters with hym, and woulde have sent me into Gascoine whan the insurrection was there, the which yf I hadde gon and the Cunstable hadde catched me, I hadd payed for my comynge; and whan I declared his Grace my mynde, I contentyd hym. I do rejoyse from the botom of my harte to thinke howe towarde a master we have; and agayne I rejoyse to see howe Godes word is trewlye and syncerlye set forthe; there lackethe nothings but to fere God, and to be in obedience of our Prynce; I doe rejoyse agayne to see what godlye provision here is for the poore, the which woulde rejoise any Englyshe harte to see, and also that these matters aforesayde may be looked uppon & that the ships and the maryners maye be maintainid; for the viceamerall of France, Mons^r. De May, hathe sayd unto me or nowe, that we hadde no ships in the realme of Englonde that weare any thinge worthe, but the Kinges, & that yf they hadde sutch portes & havens as we have, and sutch comodities longinge to them, theye wolde make themselves berdes of golde. I put no doubt, but my lorde of Northumberlans grace hathe knowledge of these

thinges, by reason that his Grace laye longe in Rone of a longe tyme. I am so bolde to write halfe a dosen wordes to his Grace, the which I woulde humblye desyre you to deliver yt hym, & to reade hym my booke. And thus mooste humblye I take my leave of you for this tyme. Wrytten at London the first daye of October, by yours with his poore sarvice during his lyfe,

THOMUS BARNABE.

To the right honorable and his
spetiall good master Sir William
Scicil, secretary to the kinges Ma-
jestie.

LETTER CXLVI.

*Bishop Gardiner to the University of Cambridge, upon
the eating of Flesh in Lent, and on the pronuncia-
tion of Greek.*

[MS. COLE, vol. xlii. p. 419.]

MR. Vice Chancellor, after my ryght hartie commendations, ye shall understand I have been advertysed how dyvers of the Regents of that Universitie, who shuld rule and be good example to other, have this Lent last past very dissolutly used themselves in eatynge of fleshe; whych fault how it hath been punisshed here I am sure ye have harde: wherin I

have been noted a greate avaunser, and setter furthe of that punishment; which rumour, albeit it be not trewe, and that indede the Kynges Majestie himself, with th'advise of the rest of the Counsell, dyd earnestly prosecute, as th'effecte hathe shewed in sum that misorder: yet neverthelesse, by cause th'offence is greater in Scholers then in other, and specially called to the state of Regents, I cannott quietlye passe over, and neglecte this Informacyon; havinge soe apparente and manifeste truthe as it hathe, beinge brought to lyght sondry wayes, as this berer can enforme you, unto whome I praye you geve credence therin. Wherfor I pray you travayle with me for reformacion, which I wold have so used as the matter myght be punisshed withowt encrease of the slawndre, which mighte doo hurte to the hole Universite: and therefore I have devised and thowght good that ye shuld secretlye speke with suche as be noted faultie, and enducinge them to confesse ther faulte, and paye sum fyne, by your discrecion to be taxed, to the use of the Universite, soe to dismisse them withowt further publishinge of their names: wherein I wold ye used suche temperaunce as the payne wer not contempned ne the partie greved above his estat. But I wyll have it in any wyse punisshed; for I wyll not suffer the Universite with theise dissolute manners to be corrupte. Londes have not been geve, or Lectures fownded for any suche evyll purposes. If the Offenders will have pytie of themselves and ther

owne fame, and so privelye and secretlye with yow submitt themselves to punisshment, I wyll gladlye bere wythe them: but otherwyse, this charitable waye not regarded, I will procede to an open Inquisicion and note the faulte where I finde it. I am not desyrous to know ther names, but only to understand from you that, by payment of the taxacion, the matter is punisshed: wherof I pray you certefie as shortlye as ye shall have done any thinge in it.

The last yere, by consent of the hole Universite, I made an Ordre concerninge pronunciacion of the Grek Tonge, apoyntinge paynes to the transgressors, and finally to the Vice Chancellor if he sawe them not executed: wherein I pray you be persuaded that I wyll not be deluded and contempned. I did it seriouslye, and will maynteyne it. If you see the transgressors punisshed, I have cause to be content: but otherwyse I intende, in you and the Procters persons, to use myne auctoryte geven me by the Universite; wherunto I trust ye wyll not enforce me. To be Chauncellor of the Universitie is only Honor, whyche by contempte is taken awaye; and I wylbe ware to geve any man cause to contempte me. What enformatyon I have I wyll not wryte: but by that I shall see from hensforth, I wyll beleve that is past. Howe necessarye it is to brydle the arrogance of yought,^a the expyence of your yeres hathe, I doubte

^a youth.

not, taught you: and it wold muche greve me pryvatlye to have any varyaunce with you, of whome I have had so olde acquayntaunce; which cannot be, if ye suffer them not, by tolleracyon, to hope more of you wolde avow they shulde.

The Kynges Majestie hath, by the inspyracyon of the holy Goost, componed all maters of Religion: which Uniformitie, I pray God it may in that and all other matters and thinges, extende unto us, and forgettinge all that is past, goo forthe in agreement as thowghe ther had been no suche matier. But I wyll withstande fansyes even in pronunciacion; and fight wythe th'enemie of quyet, at the first entree. Wherfor I pray you, Mr. Vice Chancellor, loke earnestlye on thies matiers, and geve me cause by your industrie to rejoyce in the Universite, and only care for acquietinge our matiers wythe the Towne, wherein I trust we shall have good spede by the grace of God, who sende you hartelye well to fare. At the Court the 15th of May.

Your assured lovinge frende,

STE. WINTON,

To Mr. Dr.
Vice Chancellor of Cambridge.

LETTER CXLVII.

The Princess Elizabeth to the Lords of the Council concerning some landed property, and dealings with one Smyth.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. F. XIII. fol. 173. Orig.]

* * * This Letter relates to some pasture land at Woburn which the Princess Elizabeth had taken for a term of one Smyth, and was unwilling to relinquish to the Earl of Bedford, by whom, in a controversy with Smith, it had been claimed. The lack of pasture for her provisions, she says, had been the cause of heavy charges: and she would not, God willing, forego her right untill better provided.

THE HOUSEHOLD BOOK of the PRINCESS ELIZABETH for a year, from the 1st October, 5th Edw. VIth. to the last day of September, in the 6th Edw. VIth. is still extant in the possession of the Lord Viscount Strangford, by whom it has been obligingly lent to the Editor of these Volumes.

It is entitled "Th'Accumpte of Thomas Parry esquier Couferor^a to the righte excellent Princesse the Ladie Elizabeth her Grace, the King's Majesties most honorable Sister." Every page signed at the bottom by the Princess.

The sum total of Receipts, including the "remayne of the preceding year," amounts to 5791*l.* 1*s.* 3½*d.* with the third part of a farthing. The payments are entered under the heads of Bakehouse and Pantry; Buttry and Cellar; Spicery and Chaundry; Kitchen and Larder; the Acatryes; Pultry; Squillerie; Sawcerye; Woodyard; Stable; Wages, Lyveries, and Almes; Chamber and Robes; and Reparacions. The total of payments within the time of the Accompt, 3629*l.* 18*s.* 8½*d.*; leaving for the wants of the next year 1507*l.* 0*s.* 0½*d.* a half farthing and the third part of a farthing, which sum is stated to have been delivered into her Grace's own hands upon the determination of this Accompt. The expences of the House amounted to 3938*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*; but deductions for "the hides, felles, and intrails of the cattle" supplied 207*l.* 3*s.* 8½*d.* The entries in the Bakehouse and Pantry are chiefly for wheat. Under the Buttry and Cellar great quantities of beer are entred, with swete wine, Raynishe wine, and Gascoigne wine. In the Spicery and Chandry nothing of particular note occurs. In the Kitchen and Larder

^a Cofferer.

fresh-water fish occur frequently. Board-wages for servants are continually mentioned. Lamprey pies are once entered as a present. John Taylor for making of the Torne-broches coates ix^s. ij^d. In the Acatryes "one bore" xxx^s. In the Wood-yard "rushes" occur. In the Stable "horsbrede."

The Wages of household servants for a quarter of a year amounted to 82*l*. 17*s*. 8*d*. The lyveries of velvet coats for xiiij. gentlemen at xl^s. the coat, amounted to 26*l*. The lyveries of the yeomen to 78*l*. 18*s*. Given in almes 7*l*. 15*s*. 8*d*. at sondrie times to poor men and women.

Among the entries of the Chamber and Robes are the following :

"Paid to John Spithonius the xvijth. of Maye for bokes, and to Mr. Allin for a bible, xxvij^s. iiij^d."

"Paid to Edmund Allin for a bible, xx^s."

"Paid the thurde of November to the Kepar of Herforde gayle for fees of John Wingfelde, beyng in warde, xiiij^s. iiij^d."

"Paid the xiiijth. of December to Blaunche Parrye for her half yeres annuitie c^s. and to Blaunche Qwrtayne for the like, lxvj^s. viij^d."

"Paid the xiiijth. of December at the Cristening of M^{res}. Pendred's childe, as by warraunte dothe appeare, l^s."

"Paid in reward unto sondrie persons at St. James, her Grace then beyng there, viz. The Kings fotemen xl^s. Th'under kepar of St. James, x^s. The gardener v^s. To one Russell grome of the Kinge's great chamber, x^s. John Forman, x^s. To the Wardrobe xl^s. The Violans, xl^s. A Frenchman that gavè a boke to her Grace, x^s. The kepar of the Parke gate of S. James, x^s. Mr. Staunfords servants xx^s. The Lorde Russells ministralls x^s. In th'ole, as by warrant appereth ix^{li}. xv^s."

"Paid in reward to sondrie persons the xth. of August, viz. to Farnor that plaied on the lute, xxx^s. To M^r. Ashefelde servant, with ij. prise oxen and x. muttons, xx^s. More the harper, xxx^s. To him that made her Grace a table of walnut tree xliij^s. ix^d. And to Mr. Cocke's servaunte which brought her Grace sturgeon, vj^s. viij^d."

IF bothe apparaunt poynts touching myne honor and my necessitie also constrained me not, goode my Lordes I shulde sone have served all your expectacions towching Woburne; and long sithens have appeased my Lorde of Bedfords mynde therin. But syns your wisdomes enformed of that other side do affirme that

it were myne honor and a poynt of comen justice not to intromit therewith, the matier being litigiouse, so trusting in your good willes towardes me do for aunswere resolve with you in this manner, as knowing myself a long tyme to have great nede of pastures for my provicions, the lack wherof hath bene to my great chardges. At Shroftide last, and long tyme bifore my Lorde Privy Seall to my knowledge did intromytt in suche sorte therewith, I contracted indede with one Smyth for his interest therein, being then (parcell thereof for a few yeares yet to come onely excepted) clearely dischargd of all former contractes and other things in his owne handes and right. And he upon suche consideracions of recompence as I toke with hym to dischargd the thing clearely at and untill our Ladie day last, and myself to beare the chardges thens forward, by force wherof I entred, and am therof as ye may now well undrestounde by just ordre of the lawes justlie possessed, from the which to be now rejected were to my great dishonor, syns all the contrey knoweth it. And for your Lordshipps farder satisfaccion in this matier, syns I herde of the controversie betwene my Lorde and Smyth, it is not unknowne that I sent unto hym my hoole state and condicion herein, with farr larger and more benevolent offers then I received aunswere, or being evyll handelyd canne be contented to offer agane; and therefore this I say, that if it be my right to holde it, I trust that ye will not myslyke

that I kepe it, for I will not, God willing, forgoo it untill I may be better provided. And if my Lorde have better right therunto then I have, then I will give it over with all my hart unto him without contencion. And as I utterly denye to Smyth any supportacion at my handes in any of his misdemenors against my Lorde, and do and shall leave him to suffer that he haith most deserved at my Lordes handes; so do I hope quietlie to injoy that that I this^a justly have come by with my Lordes good will, both because I have bene suche one towards my Lorde for the good service he did my father, as if habilitie served I wolde not have failed to have given of myne owne a farr better thing, and agane bicause it is not unknowne to my Lord, nor to any of you all, but that it is most requisite for me to seeke some pastures for myselfe which had never none out of lease appointed me by others. And thus I committ you all to God desiring you to make my humble comendacions to the Kinges Majestie, for whose health I pray daily, and daily and evermore shall so do during my lief. At Hatfilde the last day of Maii 1553.

Your verye lovinge frende,

ELIZABETH.

ALTHOUGH no additional Letters have occurred of consequence concerning the Protector Somerset, it will not be out of place here to mention that among the Cottonian Charters in the Museum is a Paper, indorsed

^a thus.

in Secretary Cecil's hand, "*Wryting of the Duke of Somerset in the Tower of London.*" It was the Paper of Questions put to that nobleman when prisoner. It is so decayed, torn, and discoloured, that its contents are inserted below,* merely that they may be preserved.

The Cottonian Manuscript Titus B. II. contains Lists of the necessities of dress and other accommodation, which the Duke and Duchess

* " 1. Whether dyd Palmer the Lord Gray or bothe move you furst to kepe the feld and to drawe northwards.

" 2. What moved you to credyte Partriche, when you followed his counsaile to remove from Syon, and came to London contrary to the oppynyon of some others.

" 3. To howe many dyd you declare your mynd what tyme you came to Eli place to apprehend the Duke of Northumberland then Erie of Warwyke, and who dyd geve you furst advise thereunto, and to whom you did repent the not doing of it.

" 4. Whether dyd Partriche or eny other geve you advise to promyse the people their Masse, Holywatter, with such other, rather than to remayn styll so unquietid.

" 5. Wyth howmanye dyd you conferr concernynge the taking of the Isle of Wight, and the fortifyng of Poole or eney other place.

" 6. Howmany tymes had you eny message or intelligence from Vane he being in the Tower, and by whom and whose meanes.

" 7. Whether dyd you mystrust after you had spoken secretly with Sir Thomas Arrundell, lest he had bene purposly set aworke to yndermynd you, and to whom you dyd wish that you had not gon so farr with hym.

" 8. What was the uttermost talk that dyd pas between you and Syr Thomas Arrundell at that tyme: and howe many noblemen and others he wolde assisted.

" 9. Whether dyd you consent that Vane shuld labore the Lady Elizabethes Grace to be offendyd with the Duke of Northumberland then Erie of Warwyk, the Lord Marques, th'erie of Pembroke then M^r. of the Horse, or any others of the Counsaile; and how and by whom you had intelligence of Vane's Proceedings in that behalf.

" 10. Howe often tymes have you conferred with th'Erie of Arrundell, and he with you, of the mysliking of the State and Government; and what you dyd conclude to be the Reformacon thereof.

" 11. Whether have you yourself, or any other for you, at any tyme conferred with the Lord Paget to the like effect; and howe you dyd perceve or knowe his inclination thereunto.

" 12. Whether dyd it procede furst from yourself or from the said Erie of Arrundell, to have a Parliament immediatly upon the attaynyng of your purposes; and what matters you wold have had set forth at the said Parliament.

" 13. With how many have you conferred for the setting forth of the Proclamacion to perswade the People to myslyke the Government, and to be offendyd wyth the Counsaile, and specially the doings of the Duke of Northumberland, th'Erie of Pembroke, and the Marques of Northampton; doing theym to understand that they went about to destroy the Common Wealth, and also had caused the King to be displeased with the Lady Maryes Grace his Highnes sister.

" 14. What was th'effect of the message that Stannop brought from th'Erie of Arrundell to you or to my Lady, concernynge of distrust he had concevyd of the disclosing of some of the secret poynts or conferences that had passed between you.

" 15. What was th'effect of the talk that passed between you and Stannop a lone, and between you and Stannop and my Lady, at your last being at Beddington; and how often hath Stannop devised with you upon the myslyking of the Kings Majesties counsaile, and specially of the foresaid Lords, what advise he wold geve you for the reformacon of the same; and whether he wold hym self offer to take such part as you dyd; and what other frends he wold offer to assist you with all."

of Somerset prayed to have at the time they were in the Tower. The Reader will probably think them characteristic, especially of the Duchess. Grandeur in a dungeon is not often desired by a captive.

"Things necessarie for the DUKE of SOMERSET, which he praythe to have: Firste one gowne; item, one velvet cappe; item one night cappe; item, two dubletts; item, ij. payre of hose; item, iiij. shirtes; item ij. night kerchers; item vj. hande kerchers; item iiij. dussen pointes; item ij. payre of velvet shoes; item, iiij. table clothes; item iiij. hande towells; item iiij. cupbourde clothes; item one dussen table napkings; item x^{li}. in money to paye for his wasshinge, clensing, and other necessaries.

"Things necessarie for the DUCHES of SOMERSET, which she prayeth to have. Firste one waste cote of velvyt wrought; item, ij. payre of knitte hose; item ij. payre of knitte sleves; item, one payre of wollen hose, which was in a plate cheste that mistres Susan kepte; item, vij. plane smockes which was last made; item, vj. highe collerd patletts and rufes to the same; item vj. wayste smockes, whereof iiij. wrought; item, vj. froc kerchers, whereof iiij. fyne; item, ij. duple ralles; item, vj. hand kerchers; item, the laces that mistres Pursbey had in keapinge; item, the crimisayn satten boxe with the stuffe that is in it; item a gowne of blacke velvyt egged with genetts, or else the gowne of blacke satten egged with black jenetts; item, a kirtle of blacke velvet playne; item a verdingale; item, a peace of skarlet for a stomycher; item, a piece of pointinge ryben; item, some blacke silke and white threde; item iiij. little books covered with blacke velvyt which be in the cheste where this linning lyethe; item ij. payre of gloves; item, one payre of lether slippers; item xx^{li}. in money to paye for wassing, clensing, and other necessaries; item ij. standing pottes for wyne and bere; item, ij. cuppes for bere, and a nest of boilles for wyne; item, vj. silver disshes, and ij. silver sawcers, and one dussen of pewder disshes; item, iiij. sylver plates; item, iiij. sylver spoones; item, iiij. table clothes; item iiij. hand towells; item, ij. dussen table napkins; item, iiij. cupboarde clothes."

Among the Cottonian Charters too, in a hand-writing of the time, the following Account is preserved of *the DUKE OF SOMERSET's last speech and execution*; it is somewhat different from that given by Stow in his *Annals*.

"Masters and good fellows, I am come hither for to die; but a true and faithful man as any was unto the Kings Majesty, and to his realme. But I am condemned by a law whereunto I am subject, and as we all; and therefore to show obedience I am content to die; wherewith I am well content, being a thing most heartily welcome unto me; for the which I do thank God, taking it for a singular benefit, and as great a benefit as ever might come to me any otherwise. For as I am a man, I have deserved at God's hand many deaths; and it hath pleased his goodness,

whereas he might have taken me suddenly that I should neither have known him nor myself, thus now to visit me and call me with this present death as you do see, when I have had time both to remember and knowledge him, and to know also myself; for which thing I do thank him most heartily. And, my friends, more I have to say unto you as concerning Religion. I have been always, being in authority, a furtherer of it to the glory of God, to the uttermost of my power, whereof I am nothing sorry, but rather have cawes and doo rejoyce moste gladlye that I have so done for the greateste benefyt of God that ever I had, or any man myght have in thys world; besechyng you all to take yt soo and to follow yt on styll, for yf not ther wyll follow and come a worse and great plage.'

"Sodenly came a wonderous ffearc apou the peopple after thos wordes of hym spoken, by a great sowend whych appered unto many abowe in the element as yt had byne the sowend of gunpowder set on fyer in a close howes burstynge out, and by a nother sowend apou the growend as yt had byn the syght of a greate number of greate horses ronnyng on the peopple to overe ronne them: so great was the sowend of thys, that the peopple fell downe one apou the other, many wythe bylles, and other rone som thys waye some that waye, cryeng alowed 'Jesus save us Jesus save us.' Many of the peopple cryeng 'thys waye thaye come, that waye theye come, awaye awaye.' And I loked when one or other shuld stryke me on the hedde, so was I stonned. The peopple beyng thus amassed, espyes Syr Anthony Browen apou a lytell nage rydyng toward the scaffold, and therewythe burste out cryenge in a voyce 'Pardon, Pardon, Pardon,' hurlyng up their cappes and clokes wythe thes wordes sayng 'God save the Kyng, God save the Kyng.' The good Duke all thys whyell stayed, and wythe hys cappe in hys hand wayted the peopple to come together, saynge these wordes to ther wordes of Pardon, 'There ys no suche thyng good peopple, there ys no suche thyng, yt ys the ordynans of God thus for to dye, where wythe we moste be content; and I praye yow now lette us praye together ffor the Kynges Maiceste, to whouse Grace I have bynne allwayes a ffaythefull, trewe, and moste lovyng subjecte, desyros allwayes of hys moste prosperos succes in all hys affayres; and ever glad of the ffurtherance and helpyng ffortheward of the Commen Welthe of thys Realme.' At whyche wordes the peopple awenswerd 'Ye, ye, ye;' and som sayd wythe a lowed voyce 'that ys fowend now to trew:' 'To whouse Grace I besceche God to send & grant to rayngne moste prosperously to the pleasor of God.'"

LETTERS
OF
THE REIGN OF
QUEEN MARY.

WITH the practice of the Venetian Senate, of demanding from its Ambassadors a full Account of the Courts and Countries to which they were respectively sent, the Reader has been made acquainted: nor will he be displeased to see a Translation here of the Memoir which was presented to the Doge and Senate of Venice by Giovanni Michele, upon his return from his Embassy to England in 1557. It fills the deficiency in this Work occasioned by the want of Letters in the reign of Mary.

A Copy of the Original of this Memoir is preserved in the Cottonian Manuscript Nero B. VII. in a hand of the time of Queen Elizabeth, who in a genealogical table at the end, in the same hand, is named as Queen. A later copy, probably made for another Doge, and in a hand two centuries nearer to the present time, occurs in the Lansdowne Manuscript 840, but altered and spread out with comment. Dr. Lingard, in two or three passages of his History, in Mary's reign, has referred to a third manuscript of it preserved in the Barberini Library, No. 1208.

A Survey of England by an intelligent foreigner, who made himself acquainted with the intire machinery of the State at such a period, has a particular claim to notice.

“REPORT of the SIG^r. GIOVANNI MICHELE
on his Return from England,
A. D. 1557.

“The Island of England, described by the ancients as the first and largest Island of any which had come to their knowledge, is situated in the Ocean, to the west of Europe, in fifty-one degrees and a half; opposed on the east to the coast of Lower Germany, on the west to the Island and Kingdom of Ireland, on the north to the Orkeney Islands, and on the south to the Provinces of Normandy and Brittany called by the Latins *Tractus Armorici*.

“It has been denominated in various ways, first *Albion*, next *Britannia*, and lastly *Anglia*, with divers etymologies (according to the opinion of some writers) which it is, at present, neither the time nor place to dwell upon. It stretches from south to north, extending eight hundred miles in length and three hundred and twenty in breadth, resembling in form an unequal triangle; and measures in circumference, Scotland included, one thousand seven hundred and twenty miles: that is two hundred and eighty less than was computed by Caesar. It is conveniently furnished with rivers and harbours, and has, above all, a very temperate atmosphere. It is not altogether plain, but varied with hills so pleasing that as you view them at a distance they are scarcely to be distinguished in rising from the level ground.

“It is fertile, and with regard to its Inhabitants, abounds in every thing requisite; and though it may want some articles which serve

more for comfort and luxury than for necessity, it is supplied with them by foreigners. But, in place of these it gives much more of its own productions, such as wool, cloths of every kind (which article is of great importance as well on account of quality as quantity), tin, lead, copper, coal, legumes and sometimes wheat, and every kind of white grain. Among the articles of import, are drugs and spices, sugar, and every description of fruit coming from Spain and France, wine, oil, things called hops (the flowers of a certain tree or plant necessary as ingredients for making beer), cloths or tissues of gold and silk, and all kinds of mercery goods. For these and as many other important branches of traffic, and for the convenience of its situation, it is visited by all the nations of Europe, from Poland to our quarter; and lastly by Muscovy, Russia, and India (that is to say West India), and by the coast of Guinea. Whence it is esteemed beyond all the Islands of the World, convenient, pleasant, and opulent.

“It is divided into two parts, which embrace two Kingdoms, separated by the rivers Solway and Tweed. That which the English are in possession of, is divided into three and according to some into four chief provinces or portions, consists of twenty-five cities or episcopacies, and two archbishopricks, the names of which, in order not to be tedious, I shall for brevity's sake leave to the historian and geographer to detail; observing that as the provinces differ from one another in their customs, so are they different in their language; for the Welsh speak a different tongue from the inhabitants of Cornwall, and both different from the English people. To the Cornish and the Welsh idioms two other tongues are to be added, which the people speak in the remotest part of Scotland, one similar to the English, and the other totally different: an extraordinary phenomenon, and which has excited the astonishment of those who have written on the subject, to see in one Island five varieties of Language.

“I should be taking upon myself the office both of a historian and geographer were I to attempt to give an account of the maritime and inland places of the Island which are most remarkable: but it shall suffice for me to say a word of the City of London, the capital of the kingdom and the residence of the Sovereign, regarded indeed, with reason, as one of the principal cities of Europe, whether it be from the abundance and convenience of every article which it is able to supply for the use of men, or from the number of its inhabitants, estimated commonly, including the suburbs and the territory of Westminster which serves as a suburb, at 150,000 souls.* It is distinguished by its fine streets and edifices, and particularly by a bridge, which has nineteen arches all of solid stone, over the river, and by the cathedral church of St. Paul; but still more

* The Lansdowne manuscript increases this number to 180,000.

by its situation, being advantageously placed on the banks of the river Thames, from which, beside the beauty of the scenery, it derives great convenience for the accommodation of the numerous ships of three and four hundred of our tons burthen, which enter there from every quarter. It has also the advantage of the tide, though the city is at a distance of more than sixty miles from the sea. Above all, it is rendered opulent not merely by the multiplied traffick, and the great trade which it has with other countries, but by the many privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants themselves without exception, that is to say by the commonalty, the merchants, and artificers. It is governed by a body of about twenty-five persons called Aldermen (chosen from amongst the wealthiest and most monied citizens), almost in the form of a republick, with unlimited power, so that neither the King nor the King's ministers interfere in any thing. I have said the Commonalty, because the Nobility, after the custom of France and Germany, all live in the country remote from the city. *

"In order to say something of their riches, it is estimated that in the two companies of *Adventurers* (those who by special privilege can alone import goods from Flanders into England and from England into Flanders) and of the *Staplers* (those to whom the exportation of wool is committed) there are many individuals possessed of from fifty to sixty thousand pounds sterling, all or the greater part in ready money, which according to the present course of exchange makes more than two hundred thousand gold ducats: besides a great number of others of different companies, as the dealers in tin, in spices and grosser articles who are called grocers, and, which will appear incredible, the company of those who deal in salt fish: all of them uncommonly rich, either to the amount before mentioned or to a greater sum: so that it may be said with truth that this city may enter into competition with the wealthiest in Europe.

"But, passing over this part as known to every body, and as little essential to our purpose, and coming to that which is of more importance and calculated for the information of our most excellent Senate; before I begin to speak of the character of the Prince, and of those who hold the reins of government, I will briefly touch upon certain general matters which belong to the nature of this Kingdom, especially as regards its power; in order that it may be ascertained whether more or less weakness, or on the contrary more or less strength than is commonly thought is derived from its constitution. And not to waste time, I say, that although in times past the power and dominion of this kingdom were half as extensive and important again to what they now are (having for three hundred years and more had possession of Normandy, Britany, Guienne, and

* They preferred the country for regular abode, that they might not be too much under the eye of the Court; but many of the nobility had town residences, where they came upon great emergencies and when a Parliament assembled. EDIT.

Gascony, which are the chief provinces of France, and having for a long time held Scotland in tributary subjection, having farther, for sixteen years and more, ruled absolutely over the whole kingdom of France, in which Henry the Sixth was publicly crowned as Sovereign at Paris in 1348,* so that it may be said, these foreign possessions were only lost the other day, nothing of them remaining but the titles and some neighbouring islands, all of little value except a part of the Island and Kingdom of Ireland, and two fortresses on the continent, Calais and Guianes), it has, notwithstanding the total loss of so many important possessions, in the end remained and still remains so powerful, that it appears it has no need of others for its own defence: nay it is not only difficult, but it may be said to be impossible, if there be no division in the kingdom, that it can be conquered by force, as your Serene Highness will perceive from particular circumstances in the progress of my Account.

“For, to speak first of the Maritime Forces, which must be principally considered, the Kingdom being insular; although these also are greatly diminished from what they used to be, not to mention the equipment of a thousand large vessels and more, which those kings made against their enemies, and particularly Henry the Fifth against Charles the Sixth King of France, in 1418; but not to dwell on matters too remote from our memory, we will speak of later times, of those of King Henry the Seventh and King Henry the Eighth, when the crown possessed about a hundred ships, all ready appointed and provided with officers who received constant pay, that they might be ready for service on any emergency at an hour's notice. The number of ships now scarcely amounts to forty; being thus reduced, either by neglect or the necessity of saving expense: some having been sold, and others become unfit for service. Yet these few remaining ships (when joined with those of private persons, such as we have before alluded to, and which are at the King's disposal as if they were his own on any occasion, and kept in his pay, which also applies to foreign shipping when necessity requires) are not only sufficient for defence, but also do considerable execution in offensive operations. For it is said that there are scattered in the different Ports of the Kingdom, large and small vessels, yet all fit for service and capable of acting against an enemy, so great a number, that if they were united together (which in time of need could easily be done by the King's command) they would form an extraordinary amount, that is to say of many hundreds; as the English relate, perhaps more than two thousand; but we should even maintain that this was but a moderate estimate. There would, beyond a doubt, be so many, that if a part of them were furnished with soldiers, artillery, and other necessary things (which when occasion

* Here is a mistake: Henry the Sixth was crowned at Paris Dec. 17th, 1431.

required might be done without trouble, as in point of artillery and every sort of ammunition and arms this kingdom may cope with any other, even the best provided, on account of the constant supply of these articles, which is attended to with the utmost solicitude) they would not fear any force, however great, acting either on the offensive or the defensive. This is what I have, in general, to say upon the Shipping and the Maritime Power of the Country.

“ With regard to the Land Forces, speaking first of the Infantry or soldiers serving on foot, these would indeed be innumerable if we took into account all those who, in case of need, would rise for the defence of the kingdom, remote as they are; for in one county alone of the thirty-nine into which the kingdom is divided, viz. that called ‘Yorkshier,’ it is said that for this service are enrolled 70,000 men and more; the vulgar notion even goes as far as 100,000: but not speaking of these, but only of men of property, who would voluntarily and without compulsion come forward to serve as soldiers within the kingdom and abroad, even these would appear in great numbers, it having been observed that the armies composed of these volunteers, with which the Kings beforementioned have sometimes passed the sea, and speaking of the last, with whom Henry the Eighth crossed over to the enterprize of Terouenne in the year 1526,^a and to the conquest of Boulogne in 1544, they amounted to forty or fifty thousand Englishmen; and the number would have been much greater, if the expence had not been considered in carrying them out of the kingdom. It is thought by those who are competent judges, that in the hour of trial, when a general effort was to be made, a body of twenty or twenty-five thousand of these troops might be raised, all furnished with cuirasses and polished arms,^b that is to say, if to those which the Court could arm, those of the gentry and particular barons were also added. For there is not one of them, who in proportion to his retinue, and the power^c he possesses, has not a store of arms for a considerable number of people, so that it is said that some of them together might arm thousands; as for example, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, and Westmoreland, but above all the Earl of Pembroke.^d These troops, though not practised and ex-

^a Here is another mistake of date. Therouenne was surrendered to King Henry the Eighth Sept. 29th, 1513.

^b “corsaletti et armi bianche.”

^c *facolta*.

^d The general fact is corroborated by Lord Cromwell himself in a Letter to King Henry VIIIth, dated London, Feb. 5th, without year, preserved in the Cottonian MS. Tit. B. 1. fol. 257. Speaking of a visit he had received from the Marshal de Castillon he says “I toke occasion to bryng hym up to myn Armory, and have shewed unto hym such store of harneys and wepens as I have, the whiche he semed to esteeme moche, and I tolde him that there wer other particuler Armaries of the Lords and Gentilmen of this Royaulme, more then the nombre of twenty, aswell or better furnyshed then myn was, whereat he woundred, and sayd that he thought your Grace the Prince best furnished thereof in Christendom.”

perienced soldiers (because there would be few among them who would know how to manage their arms, and to handle the pike, arquebuse, or other sort of weapon, it not being the practice in this kingdom to attend to such exercises), yet being intermixed with veteran soldiers, of which there are many of the natives who have learnt the trade of war by serving abroad, they would in every case present a respectable body and produce a great effect, especially when on the defensive, both by their steadiness and martial spirit, and still more by their numbers. The ardour in fighting would be shared by all, the veterans as well as the raw levies, because, as every body knows, there is not a nation in the world that esteems danger and death more lightly than the English. So much for the English Infantry. I will not omit to notice, that among their offensive weapons some make use of large sticks of the height of a man,* heavy and armed with iron at the head, from which various iron points, five or six inches in length, issue from all parts, which are dangerous instruments, calculated to break and smash whatever they meet with. But above all, their proper and natural weapons are the bow and arrow, the practice in which is so extensive as a common exercise among all classes of persons, without distinction of rank, age, or profession, that it exceeds all belief. This is not merely the effect of choice, but arises likewise from an obligation under which all the heads of families are placed by act of Parliament, and indeed all, both young and old, to forego every other exercise, and practise diligently only this, whereon the whole strength and hope of the English people are supposed to depend. They are, in truth, so dexterous and expert in the use of the bow, that they do not yield in skill and aptitude to any set of people whatever; and such is the opinion and estimation they entertain of this species of arms, that they prefer it to any other, even to the arquebuse, and place more reliance on it for their defence and security than on the latter, in which notion they differ from the officers and soldiers of other nations. They shoot with such force and dexterity at the same time, that some are said to be able to pass through corselet and whole armour; and there are few among them, even those that are moderately practised, who will not undertake at a convenient distance, to come invariably within two or three inches of a given area. In this weapon consists for the most part their attack. As to their mode of defence, they have not the same advantage, whether it be that they less regard, or less value it. For when they fight, be it on horseback or on foot, they prefer being unincumbered and active as to their persons, to being cased in armour; in order to be able to move with ease forward and backward, and to leap and run; though their safety might be insured by their submitting to that incumbrance. For this

* gran bastoni d'altezza d'un huomo.

reason they commonly make use only of a light skull-cap for the protection of their heads, in the form of a mere head-piece to cover half the head, rather than in that of a helmet or any thing more substantial. For the protection of the body they wear a sort of corslet, which indifferently guards the forepart; or they rather prefer what may be called a shirt of mail. ^a But what they most frequently make use of, is a quilted jacket or waistcoat, several times doubled, two inches or more in thickness, which is esteemed the surest defence against the force of arrows. Upon their arms they wear plates, or stripes of mail put lengthways.

“As to the Cavalry, which is considered not less necessary for attack than for defence (I speak of light Cavalry) ^b it might be very numerous if it were but of a good description, because this Island produces a greater number of horses than any other country of Europe. But the horses being weak and of bad wind, ^c fed merely on grass, being like other cattle and animals kept in field or pasture which the temperature of the climate admits of, they are not capable of any great exertion, and are held in no estimation. Nevertheless they are bold and spirited, especially if those be excepted which come from the Province of Wales. They do very well in the field for reconnoitering and skirmishing, and harassing the enemy: and they would do much better if they were better fed. As to heavy Cavalry, ^d though good as far as the men at arms are concerned, yet as the country does not produce horses for that species of service, except a few in Wales and a few of some particular race which the Queen possesses, the kingdom has very little of it. The fact is, that as it is well ascertained what forces are necessary and useful, by means of the obligation under which the Barons and Prelates are of maintaining a certain number of men for the defence of the kingdom and the service of the King, they keep as many of that description of force as they have an opportunity of obtaining. The horses which we commonly see in the cavalry are all foreign, imported from Flanders, the Queen having ordered that every one liable to this service should provide himself with what is required of him, lest this branch of service should by its intermission be entirely neglected. Now if all the forces which exist of this description were brought together at a general muster, accompanied by their dependants and the gentlemen who are called esquires, besides the archers of the Court who are all obliged to serve on horse-back fully armed, a body would be collected exceeding 2000 men, which would be a great force for this species of arms, excelling as to the description of the men, and mounted on horses calculated for every service.

^a comisa de maglio.
^c deboli et di poco lena.

^b leggiora.
^d cavaleria grossa.

"Of such kind is the armed force of the English, capable, as is evident, to resist any invasion from abroad, provided there be union in the kingdom; to which may be added the aid of troops from Ireland, a wild race of people subject to the Crown of England, who without difficulty could come over, after a passage of one day, or in some places of eight or ten hours, as has been done on former occasions, for the service of the kingdom; when they have obtained the credit of having shown great prowess."

"This would be the place for me, after having stated the number and quality of the forces both by sea and land, to state likewise the expence, and the manner in which they are maintained in time of war, to show the difference of the practice adopted in this kingdom from that followed by your Highness and other Princes. But as this is a subject of such extent, and would require a particular detail, I shall reserve it for another opportunity. Therefore to proceed in my remarks, I have to state, that beside that sort of defence of which I have been speaking, the kingdom is strong in this, that Nature has placed it in an Island with a sea all around, and a sea different in character from other seas, there being in no part of the Mediterranean as far as it is known, a similar course of water, with so remarkable a flux and ebb, increasing and decreasing ordinarily from twelve to fifteen paces; which has been the reason that, as the Kingdom is thus to be considered as one general fortification, the Sovereigns have paid but little attention to fortifications in detail, deeming the latter superfluous, either with regard to domestic or foreign enemies. For as to the former, the point always was, and still is, to get possession of the field; of which whosoever is the master, has been, is, and always will be the master of the Kingdom: and he will reduce the enemy (were he to retire to a fortress) to consume himself, and perish without relief, by famine; such is the nature of the country. As to foreign enemies, since these could not act except by means of fleets, the country being insular, the system has been and continues to be, to prevent them from approaching any part of the Island except with risk and danger. With this view therefore, in suspicious times, guards are stationed round the Island, and along the coast on eminences, to give notice, by means of signals, as is done in the Levant when apprehensions are entertained of the Corsairs (in the day-time by hoisting flags and in the night by lighting fires) of the approach of any vessels. The country people, apprized by these signals, immediately hasten to the point which is threatened, as they are bound to do (all heads of families being answerable with their lives), and provided with arms and four days' provision at least. By these, together with the guards, the store of arms, artillery, and ammunition with which the country is furnished, the

a "buona provova."

Kingdom is protected, and its defence secured. For those that assemble can never be so few in number, nor so weak, as not to be able to oppose any sudden attack, and, with the succour that hourly would reinforce them, to maintain a good defence, and ultimately avert the danger so much the more, as on the part of the enemy the aggressor would be at the mercy of wind and tide in attempting to effect a landing in the ports, which cannot be entered except at high water, or with so very favourable a wind as may be able to overcome the force of the water. The example of Cæsar's expeditions, and others of former time across this Sea, would discourage the most daring enterprises of this kind. The reason is that the coast is dangerous, and the wind extremely changeable; so that from the Sea the Country cannot well be invaded by means of a surprize, nor without making a powerful defence and resistance; with great risk to the Invader.

“ On the land-side, it is only the Northern provinces, toward Scotland, that stand in need of being guarded. The Scots might otherwise, at any hour, make inroads and commit depredations, stimulated not only by the hope of plunder (a great temptation as they inhabit a barren and consequently a poor country) but also by the hatred which neighbouring Nations generally entertain one toward another, which is increased, in this instance, by constant wars and long-standing differences and jealousies. Now this frontier is secured by a force of fifteen hundred soldiers, distributed in four quarters. First in Berwick, the frontier to the east, near the mouth of the river Tweed, a place of strength and extent, which has a salmon fishery: it was taken from the Scots in a war long ago, and never either restored to, or recovered by them. Another garrison is in the city of Carlisle, the frontier-town to the west. The remainder are stationed in two other towns of less importance, situated between the former, viz. one called Orch,* the other Warck, besides the city of Durham, a renowned place among the English. Though in this city no soldiers are commonly kept and paid, yet being very populous, it has always been reputed one of the chief bulwarks against the inroads of the Scotch, of whose disposition toward the present Queen it will be proper to speak afterwards, when I come to mention their conduct towards the other sovereigns.

“ Another frontier, besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais. For this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries; at least none so easy, so short, and so

* “ Oercha.”

secure: so much so, that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the World. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other sovereigns, in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas, by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbour of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbour (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors) ^a and carry over either troops, or any thing else for warfare, offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion: and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, nor farther from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other, as they please, and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy. For these reasons therefore it is not to be wondered at, that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony settled there shortly after the first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty barons which the king has, bearing the title of Deputy, with a force of five hundred of the best soldiers, besides a troop of fifty horsemen. It is considered by every one as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification, who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care, though, being a smaller place, only by a hundred and fifty men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which inundate the country being collected around. So by these fortresses, besides the forces which I have described, the country is secured.

“ But as neither the one nor the other would be adequate to that purpose, if that resource were wanting upon which every thing depends, and without which no State, however strong it may be in other respects, can exist in safety either from external enemies or internal commotion (always fatal in this country), namely, the means of supporting the forces alluded to, and the ways of finding the money, I will give a brief account of the resources of the kingdom. They may be considered as of two kinds, first of treasure accumulated, secondly of means derived from the

^a tanto e fatta la pratica et l'ardire di quelli marinari.”

revenue. As to the former, it consists in the jewels, and the gold and silver plate provided for the use of the sovereign, suitable to his dignity and splendor, wherein, if England does not surpass other nations, it is at least on a level with them, as has been shown on many occasions, and especially at the marriage of the present Queen. Of any other treasure, available for use, I have not heard: on the contrary, instead of such accumulated wealth, I shall have to speak of the public debt, but will, for the present, postpone this subject, proceeding to the consideration of the ordinary revenue. This is derived, as I am informed, from five or six main sources, of which, as they differ from those of other states, I think it incumbent upon me to give some account. Among the revenues the guardianship of minors is a great prerogative both of this kingdom and of Scotland, such a grievance being neither known to, nor practised by any other Sovereign, either christian or infidel. It is, indeed, a very strange practice, and consists in this; that all those, who after the death of their father, are under twenty-one years, be they male, or female (we must be understood to speak of elder children, because the inheritance goes exclusively to the first-born), remain as wards under the guardianship of the king, who becomes the usufructuary of all they possess, except of as much as is required for maintaining them: and this applies to land and all manner of property which the Crown may claim under its feudal prerogative, whether small or great, were it even a pair of gloves, or a pair of spurs. This continues till the wards have passed the aforesaid age of twenty-one years, up to which time the king disposes of their property as if it were his own, either in giving it away, or selling it, or appropriating it to himself. This revenue would produce a great deal if the king did not show so much liberality as he does; for it may be said, that not only the property of the nobility, but that of the whole island is more or less subject to the prerogative of the Crown; and if time permitted, I would detail the very great inconvenience which thence arises, not only from the little attention that is paid to the property of the wards, but to the wards themselves, the guardians appointed being generally mercenary persons, who purchase these guardianships for a certain price, and look only to their private interest. They frequently form, almost by force and fraud, matrimonial alliances with their wards and their own children and poor relations, whatever difference there may be between them in point of rank or fortune. Whence arise, besides the debasement of blood, while the low-born intermix with the nobility, remarkable instances of hatred and aversion between those that are so married; and very frequent separations and divorces. Within this prerogative of guardianship are farther comprehended, not only minors, but also those who hold their property from the crown, though they be of full age. It is the established rule both of England and Scotland, that no one who

enjoys this kind of property, can, when he wishes to marry, do so, unless with the consent and approbation of the king, the patron and disposer of marriages and dowries ; but it must be observed that in asserting this part of his prerogative the king is extremely indulgent. From this species of revenue no more than ten or twelve thousand pounds sterling were formerly derived ; now that the possessions of the church are incorporated with those of the people generally, by which the property of individuals is greatly augmented, I understand that, notwithstanding all the favours which the king shows, it produces little less than thirty thousand pounds.

“ Besides the revenue before described, there exists another, which is called *Livery*. This consists in one year's income, which all those have to pay who hold property from the Crown, on their succeeding to such property, and to other property not so circumstanced ; and a third species, which is called *Relief*, which relates to the recognition of feudal possession. Of these the number and variety is so great, that those which are called military fiefs exceed by much sixty thousand ; bringing more or less profit to the king on being renewed, according to the importance and nature of the fiefs : the revenue hence derived is called extraordinary revenue, in opposition to that which is called the ordinary revenue. The ordinary revenue, also called the old revenue, constitutes as it were the patrimony of the Crown, yielding thirty thousand pounds per annum ; to which is joined at present the Duchy of Lancaster, assigned to one of the king's sons when there is one, and producing sixteen thousand pounds, but as much as twenty-four thousand pounds, when certain dues, which are attached to it, are levied. But, above all, there is the duty, called *Custom*,^a which is taken on every thing imported or exported, whether foreign or English, with a great difference however between these two, foreign articles paying sometimes the quadruple of what the English do. This branch of revenue would be very productive, considering the great amount both of imports and exports, if it were differently collected and administered, namely, in a manner similar to what is done in other states by dataries ;^b but being collected by the sovereign himself, the greater part is wasted in donations, or lost by the pilfering of those who are employed : for of 200,000*l.* and more, which it is said to produce annually in the common course, the fourth part scarcely reaches the Royal Treasury, the remainder is consumed by the expenses of collecting and the persons employed in this business.

“ Such were from ancient times, and are still, the most important sources of revenue, besides which there is the profit derived from the mines of iron, lead, and tin, chiefly the latter ; there not being, as we may say, any part of the island which is not full of these metals, the soil being

^a “ *la Costuma*.”

^b “ *datarii*,”

almost every where of a mineral nature; but above all the province of Cornwall is of this description, where those metals are commonly dug. There was, and still is, the income arising from vacant bishopricks, and formerly also from abbies, which is not inconsiderable. The nomination to the former of these ecclesiastical preferments depends upon the King, who by delaying to fill them up, as he sees fit, appropriates the fruits of them while they are vacant to himself.

"The Crown moreover derives 30,000*l*. from the pastures and lands about Calais and Guisnes. It has 20,000*l*. from Ireland, but this does not enter into account, as that sum scarcely suffices to cover the expenditure of that kingdom. It has the confiscated property of rebels, besides the fines, which, in several tribunals, but particularly in that called the Star-chamber are levied on the nobility and gentry for misdemeanours, and on officers and public servants for embezzlements and other irregularities of which they may have been guilty; besides those who are every day condemned for felonies. All these revenues collectively, both ordinary and extraordinary, were said, before the time of the Schism,^a to amount, one year with another, to the sum of 150,000*l*., which, reckoning the pound at four large gold ducats, as was at that time the reckoning of money, made 600,000 gold ducats. Thus, with the usurpation of church-property, so scandalously committed at that period by King Henry, who alienated himself from the church, the revenue was doubled, though much connivance and negligence were purposely admitted, in order to reconcile the people by suffering individuals to partake of the plunder. With this increase it was estimated that the Crown had an annual income of more than 310,000*l*., which, in those days, made a sum of more than one million two hundred thousand gold ducats. Of this sum the present Queen has ceded more than 60,000*l*. in behalf of the clergy, having given up the tithes and what are called first fruits, that is, the income of one year, which the priests paid on being appointed by the King to any benefices; an usurpation by the said King Henry. They were the same as the annates which were paid to Rome. Having farther restored the fruits and revenues of more than eight hundred benefices, which were dependent on abbies and monasteries, called by the English '*priories*,'^b which revenues the Crown enjoyed: these are now in possession of the clergy on which the benefices have been conferred by the bishops in the several dioceses. To the former cessations must be added what the Queen restored to the Order of Rhodes.^c She is, on the other hand, burdened with all the pensions which at the overthrow of

^a The Reformation: "*inanti al tempo del Scisma.*"

^b "*beneficii curati dependenti di Abbatie et Monasterii chiamati di loro Priories.*" Michele must mean rectories, or great tithes.

^c "*alla Religione de Rodi.*"

the monasteries were assigned to different ecclesiastical persons who had been thrown upon the world, for maintenance. These pensions are now, by a certain repartition, divided and paid by the clergy. She retains, however, the revenues of the dissolved Abbies and Monasteries, which it is impossible to restore (even if there were a disposition) to their former state, except after a very long course of years, so complete was the ruin and destruction that befel them. In this manner, between these and the ordinary revenues mentioned above, the Crown is still in possession of more than two hundred thousand pounds a year; which being reduced by the standard of money, deteriorated by one third through mismanagement, still amounts to something less than six hundred thousand gold scudi. With such resources it is not to be doubted that when the country is not at war, as it ordinarily has no need for its security of any of those heavy expenses which other countries are liable to, namely, of cavalry, infantry, and fleets, being naturally very secure, so it has sufficient not only largely to provide for the maintenance, dignity, and splendour of the King, but abundantly to minister to all his pleasures. For excepting the protection of the fortresses on this side of the sea, and the garrisons in Scotland above mentioned (which, however, when there is no war, nor any apprehension of war, are kept by the people of the country itself upon half of the pay), and excepting the provision for the King's guard, namely, the three hundred archers and the fifty serving gentlemen, one with the other at 25*l.* per annum, and fifty pensioners at 50*l.* a man per annum, excepting farther the repairs of bridges,^a and those few vessels that are kept in commission, the providing artillery, renewing arms, and all sorts of ammunition, together with the repairs of houses and royal palaces, of which there is indeed a very great number, considering the extent of the kingdom; besides the maintenance of ambassadors, judges, and other official persons and public servants, all which are unquestionably ordinary and necessary charges for the preservation of a kingdom: then, all these expenses deducted, which, though considerable, are in fact of no vast amount, all the remainder certainly is spent, with much profusion and waste, upon the household, the table, horses, armour, chapel,^b wardrobe, and other establishments for the king's person, with a great number of officers, and what they call clerks. I use the term *profusion*, as there is no nation which in its manner of living and ordinary expenditure is more extravagant than the English; because they keep more servants, with a greater distinction of offices and degrees in which these servants are placed. In this manner, to mention only one particular, in order to give an idea of other expenses of greater moment, the expense

^a "ponti:" the Lansdowne MS. reads "porti" harbours.

^b "della cappella:" the Lansdowne MS. reads "della caccia," the hunting establishment.

of the court, in the mere article of living, that is, of eating and drinking, and of what solely relates to the table, amounts to from fifty-four to fifty-six thousand pounds sterling a year, making 230,000 of our scudi. It is a monstrous thing to see the quantity of victuals usually consumed, with the allowances to attendants and servants; and yet not the fourth part is now expended of what was spent in the time of Henry and Edward, the predecessors of the Queen; her Majesty having succeeded in correcting many abuses, and regulating superfluities, partly by limiting and partly by entirely abolishing many tables, and taking away all arbitrary supplies of provisions. From these sources the income of the Crown is derived, and in this manner it is spent; there remaining in extraordinary exigencies, either of war, or debt, or other public occasions, extraordinary ways and means, which would be very various and productive for the Sovereign, if he were disposed to make them a part of those public burdens which are imposed in other kingdoms, where they are considered ordinary. But the liberty of this country is really singular and wonderful; indeed there is no other country, in my opinion, less burthened and more free. For they have not only no taxes of any kind, but they are not even thought of: no tax on salt, wine, beer, flour, meat, cloth, and other necessaries of life, which in all parts of Italy especially, and in Flanders, are the more productive the greater is the number of inhabitants which consume them. But here every one indifferently, whether noble or of the common people, is in the free and unmolested enjoyment of all he possesses or daily acquires, relating either to food or raiment, buying or selling, except in those articles which he imports or exports by way of traffick. The regular taxes before mentioned are paid only by those who hold property of the Crown, and this applies solely to the nobility, and not to the commonalty. Nothing else, however small, is paid to the Sovereign. The Kingdom, therefore, has no other extraordinary supplies but the subsidies, which in time of need are publicly granted by the intervention of parliament, to which every one contributes without distinction, both foreigner and Englishman; but even these are paid with great accommodation to the people, there being always two instalments allowed, which are commonly of two years, the payments being made according to an estimate of what a person is worth, so many groats in the pound, according to necessity, and the greater or lesser pressure in which the sovereign finds himself. These estimates are more moderate than we find them in other countries: yet are the subsidies never so small but that with the tenths of the bishopricks and the clergy which are comprehended in them, they do not produce more than a million of gold.*

* Michele here probably again calculates from the ducat.

" Having said enough of the forces and fortresses of the kingdom, it remains to speak of the form of government, in order to make known the great difference there is between this and other kingdoms. It will suffice, however, to do this briefly. The Country is not governed in the administration of justice, as other States and christian Countries, by the civil and imperial law, but by municipal laws, like our own republick; which laws having been instituted by William of Normandy, the bastard, surnamed the Conqueror (as having by force conquered the whole kingdom), it is no wonder that they are so much directed as they are to the advantage of the king, and so little to that of his subjects; and that they are so full of intricacies, contrarieties, and doubts. For they were derived from a nation than which there is not one in the world more practised in the fallacies and ambiguities of legal proceedings,^a namely, the Norman. These laws are observed in the courts of justice immutably in their full vigour; and they are publicly read in colleges^b in the Norman language; in which language, but a few years ago, all law-suits were conducted, all legal deeds performed, and public documents written: and what will appear strange, a doctor's degree (a particular practice of this country^c) is conferred in it. And if time would permit, I might relate some truly remarkable anomalies and abuses in their judiciary proceedings and in the form of their trials, particularly of what they denominate Inquests, which are in use all over the kingdom, and in all sorts of cases both civil and criminal; and a pattern of disorder they are. They consist of twelve men, summoned by the judge after the trial is concluded, for the sake of obtaining their opinion on the litigated point; in giving which it is required that they should be unanimous, as otherwise the judge cannot proceed to pronounce sentence.

" But to avoid becoming tedious I shall omit particulars, and only observe, that with the exception of judicial matters, every thing relative to the government of the realm is dependent on the will of the Kings, who in point of fact are absolute lords and masters. However, as either through indolence, convenience, or the consciousness of their importance (following in this respect the footsteps of the Grand Turk), they rarely trouble themselves about business or men of business; they have established a Council similar to that of the Bashaws,^d composed of the principal and most confidential servants they can find, who pretty nearly in the manner of the bashaws assemble together; and following the King's person (for which purpose they have board and apartments at court, and are served

^a " piu instrutta nelle falacie et nelle longelle delle liti."

^b He means the Inns of Court. The Lansdowne MS. reads the " Colleges of London."

^c " uso specioso. in quel Regno."

^d " a quello de Bassa.

with great pomp and circumstance^a), they ease the King of the fatigue and trouble of governing, and constitute themselves masters not only of the people and public ministers, but also of ambassadors and princes. Thus it may be said they are the ears, the person, and the very voice of the King. They send their written mandates through the realm, their commands to the ministers are given in the most authoritative manner, and as punctually obeyed, and resolutions are passed by them as though they proceeded from the King himself. Into this sort of council, called the Royal Council, are occasionally admitted the thirty-four principal officers of the court and the King's household, such as the steward,^b whose office answers to that of grand master in France or 'maggiordomo maggiore' of the Emperor's court, and the comptroller, who has the particular charge of the expenses and provisions of the court; all of them are, in general, noblemen and first-rate gentlemen, who hold their official situations not from necessity but by the command of the King, it being understood that no principal charges and offices of the realm or of the court devolve on any but high-bred and above all trust-worthy persons. Besides these, the King (not being limited to any particular number) also uses to admit such other individuals, whether noble or commoners, both of ecclesiastical or secular estate, as are desirous of that honour, in which, however, favour and good luck oftentimes carry it over merit of every description. By these the kingdom is governed in all circumstances, under the pleasure of the King. But inasmuch as occasionally circumstances occur of importance to the realm or the subjects, such as passing new laws or revising and amending old ones, making provision of money for carrying on wars or other public business; in such, and similar cases, the Kings, out of sheer modesty, use to keep up the old custom of calling Parliaments, or convoking the three estates and orders of the realm,^c viz. the clergy, the nobles, and the commons, in order that they bring on and examine into the matters that have occurred, and submit their opinions to the King either for confirmation or rejection. In the beginning, and, indeed, many years after the introduction of parliaments, the liberty and security of those three estates were such that even the lowest person of them might, without any danger, were it even against the King's person, give free utterance to any expressions calculated for the public good, or dictated by zeal for his country; the Kings in those times being looked upon rather as political and civil chiefs than as lords and masters or monarchs, as they are at the present day. Thus at first the power of the King appeared, and really was weakened by parliament; but from the time of

^a "rispetto."

^b "stuordo."

^c "i Re per modesta continuar nell'uso antico di chiamarsi Parliamenti convocandi i treatati in esso et ordini del Regno."

Edward III. who reigned in 1325^a and afterwards, the influence of parliament was gradually but greatly diminished by the power of the King, so that at the present day little remains, besides the ancient form, that might convey an idea of its original freedom and authority. Indeed the Kings now-a-days make use of the show of parliaments rather for the sake of cloaking their pleasure and appetites, and ridding themselves of trouble and fatigue in consultations on doubtful, and of responsibility in dangerous affairs, than with a view to sacrifice any small portion of their power; for nothing determined upon in Parliament is valid unless it have received the sanction of the King. Neither can parliaments alone pass any decree or any act whatsoever, nor can they assemble without being called by the King. In the same spirit the Kings use, in more than one way, to keep out or bring in whosoever they please; choosing for the latter purpose such only on whose good disposition towards them they can firmly rely. They are at this time become so formidable and powerful that they may do even as they please; nor can any body, whether it be in parliament or out of it, impune, and, indeed, without utter ruin to himself, venture to stand up in opposition, or even to make the least show of resistance to their pleasure. In short, servants they enter parliament, and servile are their proceedings therein.

“It might not be out of place here to describe the ancient and truly beautiful costume^b in which the King and the barons appear on solemn occasions; the distinction of the Houses into which parliament is divided, the one that of the nobles and prelates, called the Upper House, the other that of the burgesses as they are called (although, in point of fact, they are most of them cavaliers and persons of quality, and of first-rate talents), constituting the Lower House; their mode of debating; the mode in which they give their suffrages, retaining therein the usages of the ancient Romans; and lastly, the form of the speech which, on the breaking up of parliament, is delivered by the King on giving either his assent to or dissent from the matters proposed or resolved upon by both the houses. It would, likewise, be the right place here, after having given an idea of the government of the realm, to expatiate on the manner in which the King's person is served; on the management of his household both for public and private purposes, and which differs so widely from that in use among other princes. I might also dwell upon the special privilege which, among christian potentates, the King of England enjoys, in common with the French and Roman Kings, of being consecrated and anointed when crowned; I might explain the origin of the royal titles, viz. King of France and of Ireland (in addition to England), Defender of the Faith; I might dilate upon the prerogative he possesses to touch

^a He began to reign in 1327.

^b “habito.

for the scrophula, and to bless rings^a as a remedy against the falling sickness and lameness; and, lastly, I might speak of the Order of the Garter belonging to this kingdom, as the Order of St. Michael does to France, and that of St. Andrew, called the Order of the Fleece, to the House of Burgundy. All these topics, however, curious as they are, would require too much time, and some of them may already be known by accounts given of them by others: I shall therefore pass them over, and proceed to that part of my Report which relates to the royal persons and ministers.

"Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIIIth. and of his Queen Catherine daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Arragon, is a Princess of great worth. In her youth she was rendered unhappy by the event of her mother's divorce; by the ignominy and threats to which she was exposed after the change of religion in England, she being unwilling to bend to the new one; and by the dangers to which she was exposed by the Duke of Northumberland,^b and the riots among the people when she ascended the throne. She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very short sighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man.^c She understands five languages, English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work, such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal.^d She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withal high spirited, courageous, and resolute; having during the whole course of her adversity been guiltless of any the least approach to meanness of comportment; she is, moreover, devout and staunch in the defence of her religion. Some personal infirmities under which she labours are the causes to her of both public and private affliction; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent blood-letting, and this is the real cause of her paleness and the general weakness of her frame. These have also given rise to the unfounded rumour that the Queen is in

^a "anelli;" not *agnelli* as the Lansdowne MS. These "anelli" were the CRAMP-RINGS, of which see Brand's Popular Antiq. vol. i. p. 129. Burnet, in the Appendix to his History of the Reformation, has printed the ceremonial for the consecration of them.

^b The contriver and executor of the plot to put Jane Gray upon the throne

^c "Ha gl'occhi tanto vivi, ch'inducano reverentia et timore a quello verso ohi le muoui, ha tutta via la vista molta corta. La voce grossa et quasi di huomo."

^d "Subita, sdegnessa, et miseretta in tosto che liberale."

a state of pregnancy.^a The cabal^b she has been exposed to, the evil disposition of the people towards her, the present poverty and the debt of the Crown, and her passion for King Philip from whom she is doomed to live separate, are so many other causes of the grief by which she is overwhelmed. She is, moreover, a prey to the hatred she bears my Lady Elizabeth,^c and which has its source in the recollection of the wrongs she experienced on account of her mother, and in the fact that all eyes and hearts are turned towards my Lady Elizabeth as successor to the Throne.

"My Lady Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIIIth. and Ann Boleyn, was born in the year 1533. She is a lady of great elegance both of body and mind, although her face may rather be called pleasing than beautiful; she is tall and well made; her complexion fine, though rather sallow; her eyes, but above all her hands, which she takes care not to conceal, are of superior beauty.^d In her knowledge of the Greek and Italian languages she surpasses the Queen. Her spirits and understanding are admirable, as she has proved by her conduct in the midst of suspicion and danger, when she concealed her religion and comported herself like a good catholic. She is proud and dignified in her manners; for though her mother's condition is well known to her, she is also aware that this mother of hers was united to the King in wedlock, with the sanction of the holy church and the concurrence of the primate of the realm; and though misled with regard to her religion, she is conscious of having acted with good faith: nor can this latter circumstance reflect upon her birth, since she was born in the same faith with that professed by the Queen. Her father's affection she shared at least in equal measure with her sister, and the King considered them equally in his will, settling on both of them 10,000 scudi per annum. Moreover the Queen, though she hates her most sincerely, yet treats her in public with every outward sign of affection and regard, and never converses with her but on pleasing and agreeable subjects. She has also contrived to ingratiate herself with the King of Spain, through whose influence the Queen is prevented from bastardising her, as she certainly has it in her power to do by means of an act of parliament, and which would exclude her from the throne. It is believed that but for this interference of the King, the Queen would, without remorse, chastise her in the severest manner; for whatever plots against the Queen are discovered, my Lady Elizabeth, or some of her people, may always be sure to be mentioned among the persons concerned in them.

^a "Di questo morbo e proceduto quel vana rumore della sua gravidanta che andava tanto in menti che le tette s' ingrossano et mandavano fuori del latte."

^b "Congiure."

^c "Mi Ladi Elizabetha."

^d "di faccia sia piu tosto gratiosa che bella, grande et ben formata, di bella carne anchorche olivastra, belli occhii, et sopra 'l tutto bella mano de la quale fa professione."

"King Phillip is of short stature, but his person appears to advantage both when armed and in common attire. Though of great affability and politeness, his character is marked with gravity. His understanding is good and his judgment correct. Besides Spanish, he knows Latin, Italian, and French. He is also liberal and religious, but without possessing either the dignity or the ambition of his father. He abhors war to such a degree that he never takes the field in person, imitating therein his great-grandfather Ferdinand, who obtained greater advantages and more glory through the exploits of St. Prospero, the Marchese di Pescara, Antonio di Leyva, and other generals, than he could have done by his own exertions. He is hated by all nations, the Spanish not excepted, and much envied by the house of Austria. Neither is he the richer for not being fond of war. Being however as it were forced to war by the French, he affects valour and impetuosity, lest the enemy should slight him and prove still more unceremonious in breaking truces and agreements. As to his authority in England, your Serene Highness may be assured that in all affairs ^a of importance, whether public or private, he is made to act precisely the same part as if he were the natural king of England, and this on account of the great respect and love with which he is treated by the Queen and Cardinal Pole. Sensible, however, that he is new ^b in this kingdom, he modestly, and wisely too, leaves every thing to the management of the Queen and the Cardinal. He receives petitions, but more in the character of mediator than as a patron, letting justice take its course in criminal cases, but frequently stepping forward to procure pardon or mitigation of punishment after conviction. He, moreover, has always maintained himself and his whole court entirely at his own expense, and even allows pensions amounting to upwards of fifty-four thousand scudi in gold, to some Englishmen who remained faithful to the Queen in the conspiracy of Wiat, without receiving any farther services from them. His coming to England has proved more useful to the country than any thing that has lately happened, for it has been calculated that the money which he, together with other foreigners who came hither for his sake, have spent here, in little more than one year, amounts to a million of gold, the whole of which remains in the island. With all this he cannot live with dignity in this country, on account of the insolence with which foreigners are treated by the English, and which it is not in his power to obviate.

"This may suffice of the royal personages. Of the Ministers, in order not to tire your Serene Highness, I shall only mention Cardinal Pole. His mother was the daughter of George Duke of Clarence, and his father Richard Pole, great chamberlain of Henry VIIth. and Knight of the Order. On the shoulders of this man now rests the whole weight of the

^a "fattioni."

^b "che è huomo novo."

government of the realm, both with regard to secular and spiritual affairs. He is a man of great learning and goodness of heart. His opinion is of such authority with the Queen, that, by a mere sign with his hand, he could remove any person from the situation he holds, or bring him to punishment; whence he is envied and hated by the principal ministers. With all this, he uses his power with great discretion and humility; he abstains from interfering with any thing not particularly committed to his charge, setting thereby an example to Englishmen who, on coming into office and power, are but too much given to meddle with things that do not concern them; and too desirous of appearing more than they really are; whence, right or wrong, they will stubbornly persevere in the measures they have once taken in the management of affairs. The Cardinal confers on every subject with Monsignor Prioli, and makes use of none but Italians for his confidential servants.

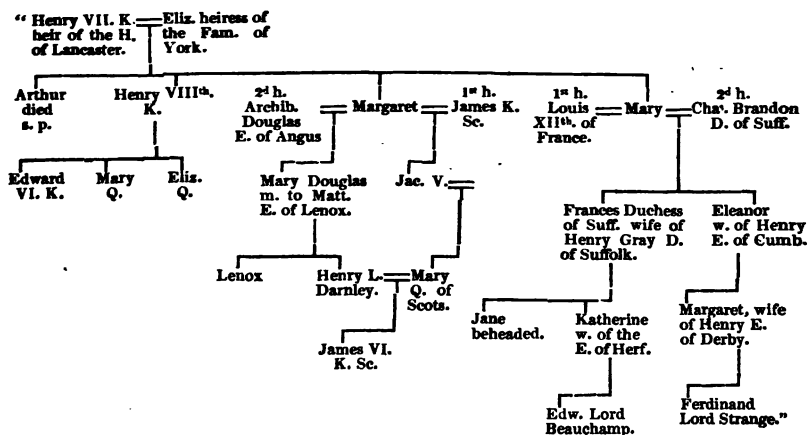
"It remains to say a few words on the state of religion and on the succession to the throne.

"Religion, although apparently thriving in this country, is I apprehend in some degree the offspring of dissimulation. The Queen is far from being lukewarm in it; she has already founded ten monasteries,* and is about to found more. Generally speaking, your Serene Highness may rest assured, that with the English the example and authority of the Sovereign is every thing, and religion is only so far valued as it inculcates the duty due from the subject to the prince. They live as he lives, they believe as he believes, and they obey his commands, not from any inward moral impulse, but because they fear to incur his displeasure; and they would be full as zealous followers of the Mahometan or Jewish religions did the king profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so. In short they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit.

"As to the Succession after the demise of the Queen, the following are the competitors. My Lady Elizabeth, who is falsely considered disqualified by illegitimacy of birth, for though King Henry VIIIth. has substituted her for her sister by will, and though an act of parliament has been passed in her favor, they still will have it that this was an act of violence, and that Henry's last Will cannot set aside the laws both of God and nature. Mary Queen of Scots: her succession is opposed by an act of parliament, which prohibits a person born out of the kingdom to become

* These were, Kings Langley in Hertfordshire, to which she annexed the Nunnery of Dartford in Kent: the Grey Friery at Greenwich in Kent: the College of Manchester in Lancashire: St. Bartholomew's Priory in Smithfield, the House of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, the Savoy Hospital, Syon Nunnery, and Westminster Abbey, in Middlesex: Wolverhampton College in Staffordshire: and the Carthusian Priory of Shene, in Surrey. Michele is correct in the number of Houses restored, but not as to the precise nature of their foundations.

heir to any thing in it. Those who are in favor of it allege that a municipal law (if there was such a law at all, which they deny) cannot, in the case of succession, be opposed to the law of nature; inasmuch as a lawful successor cannot in any manner be deprived of his natural right, proceeding from God, unless he should be guilty of rebellion or treason, and be convicted and condemned as such. And even supposing, they say, that such a law exists, it was certainly not passed prior to Margaret's leaving England for Scotland; but, in point of fact, there is no such law among the ancient constitutions of the Crown.^a My Lady Katherine, daughter of my Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and sister of my Lady Jane who was beheaded. There is still another sister.^b These were, by the will of Henry VIII. substituted for the present Queen and my Lady Elizabeth, in case the latter should die without issue. But they also claim precedence of my Lady Elizabeth in the succession, by virtue of the last will of King Edward. My Lady Margaret, Baroness of Strange, pretends that, treason being upon the house of her cousin, on account of her sister Jane, the former is likewise attainted, and consequently excluded from the succession, whence the Lady Margaret, as the nearest in blood (and legitimately of English birth) has a just claim to it.



^a "Non si trovando nelle constitutione antiche della Corona legge tale alcuna." It is evident that the vulgar opinion alluded to by Michele, arose from the law of private inheritance being construed into a rule for the Succession.

^b Mary Gray, omitted in the pedigree; of whom more will be said when her Letters occur hereafter.

SUCH is the Memoir of Giovanni Michele. Upon the last topic of his Report the Editor is anxious to add another page. It will explain much that occurs of jealousy and heart-burning in succeeding Letters.

It appears that during the reigns both of Mary and Elizabeth the subject of the Succession was one of universal Interest. Among the Royal MSS. in the Museum there are two which deserve particular notice; and both it is believed were placed in the Royal Library in the time of Queen Elizabeth herself.

The first, called "A Persuasive to the Queen to name her Successor," MS. Reg. 18. A. LXVIII. fol. 25 b. contains the following singular paragraph:

"To let your Majestie understand our opinions herin, we do thinke it our duties we do assure our selves that the breath shalbe no sooner out of your body, yf your Successor be not settled in your life tyme, but that all your Nobility, Counsellors, and whole people, wilbe up in armes with all the speede they may; yea their care and hast to arme themselves wilbe so earnest that they will thinke themselves most happie that can first draw them and their power into the feilde, *and then ther wilbe as many KINGS proclaimed, as ther will COMPETITORS*, the which will be Foure or five at the least, so that then your executors wilbe so busied to set up a new Kinge (yea it is likely two or three) that they shall not possible have one hower leisure to attende nor once thinke of your Buriall or Will."

The other 16 E. xxxvi. is a long Discourse on the "Seigneurs Anglois et estrangers pretendans droit à la Couronne apres le deces d'Elizabeth a present Roynne d'Angleterre; et qui en est le plus-proche par leur Loy politique:" Written at Paris in 1571; in which the following is given as the list of CLAIMANTS.

1. The CHILDREN of the LADY CATHERINE Countess of Hertford. She herself, as will hereafter be seen, died in 1567.
2. The LORD STRANGE, also claiming from the House of Suffolk.
3. The DUKE of NORFOLK, as descended from Anne daughter of Edward the Fourth.
4. HENRY DEVEREUX VISCOUNT HEREFORD, ^a descended by his mother through the Bouchiers from Elizabeth daughter of Richard Earl of Cambridge.
5. HENRY HASTINGS EARL of HUNTINGDON, whose mother was Catherine daughter of Henry Montacute eldest son of Margaret Countess of Salisbury.
6. LORD STAFFORD, son of Ursula second daughter of Geoffrey Pole and Margaret Countess of Salisbury.^b

^a It should be Walter Viscount Hereford.

^b Ursula was really the daughter of Sir Richard Pole.

7. The LORD MANNERS EARL of RUTLAND, whose mother was the daughter of Henry Marquis of Exeter, son of William Earl of Devon and Catherine daughter of Edward the IVth.

8. The LORDS SCROPE and DE BERKELEY claiming by their wives as descendants of Anne daughter of Edward the IVth.

9. CHARLES NEVIL EARL of WESTMORELAND, descended from Ralph Nevil who married Jane, the fifth and youngest child of John of Ghent Duke of Lancaster.

10. The EARL of WORCESTER as descended from John of Ghent.

11. MARGARET COUNTESS of LENOX, the daughter of Margaret of Scotland, eldest sister of Henry the Eighth.

12. MARY QUEEN of Scots.

Although Mary Queen of Scots stands twelfth upon the List, the Work was evidently written in France to support her claim. Exclusive of any consideration arising from religious difference, the opinion seems for a long time to have been general that the Queen of Scots was excluded under the Statute of the 25th of Edward the Third, which, as far as the law of property is concerned, declares those born in parts beyond sea only "inheritable" in England, whose parents were in the King's allegiance.

LETTER CXLVIII.

*The Lords of the Council to Queen Mary, announcing
their Proclamation of her Title.*

[MS. LANSD. 3. art. 26. a Draft.]

OUR bownden dueties most humbly remembred to your excellent Majestie, it may lyk the same to understande thatt wee your most humble faythfull and obedient subjectes, having allways (God wee take to wytnes) remayned your Highnes true and humble subjectes in our hartes ever sythens the death of our late Sovereigne lorde and master your Highnes brother, whom God pardon; and seing hitherto no possibilitie to utter our determination herein, withowt greatt destruction and bludshede bothe of our selves and others till this tyme, have this day proclaymed in your Citey of London, your Majestie to bee our true naturall Sovereigne liege Ladie, and Queen, most humbly beseching your Majestie to pardon and remytt our formar infirmities, and most graciously t'accept our meanings, which have byn ever to serve your Highnes truely, and so shall remayn with all our powers, and forces to th'effusion of our bludd, as thies berars our very good lordes therle of Arundell and L. Paget can, and bee redy more particularly to declare; to whom it may please

R 2

your excellent Majestie to give firme credence: and thus we do and shall dayly pray to Allmighty God for the preservation of your most royall person long to reigne over us, from your Majesties Cytey of London this . . day of Julie the fyrst yere of your most prosperous Reygne.

LETTER CXLIX.

Queen Mary to the Bp. of Winchester, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the restoration of Popery.

[MS. COLE, vol. xlii. p. 426.]

RYGHT reverende Father in God, ryght trustye & ryght wel belovyd, we grete you well. And wheare amonges dyvers other Inconvenyences & Misorders brought in & sett furthe in that our Universitie of Cambridge, one of the greetest & cheffe occasion of many of the sayd Misorders is, that withowt sufficient authoritie, only uppon the sensuall myndes & rashe determinacions of a fewe Men, th'awncient Statutes, Foundations, & Ordinaunces of the hole Universitie, the Colleges & other places of Studentes, have byn moche altered, broken, & allmoste utterlye subverted; wherby not only the last Wylls of many good men

have byn broken, & many wise, politike, & godly Ordinaunces, confyrmed by Parlyaments & by sondry our Progenitors, fondlie & irreverentlie contempned, but the consciences of many honest men, which by ther othes were bownde to th' observacion of the seyde Statutes & Foundations, have byn moche incombred, & yought loselie & insolentlie brought upp, to the greate discredit of th'Universitie, & no small hyndraunce of the Commonwealthe of all our Realme: We therfor, knowing it our bownden dewtie to Almightye God, by whose only goodnes we acknowlege ourselfe called & placed in the Royall Estate of this Realme, to travell by all the meanes wee may, that his Glorye & holy Wyll beinge trulye declared to all our Subjectes, he may, of all sortes, in ther severall vocacions, be reverentlie feared, served, & obeyed, have thowght good for a begynninge, to wyshe that th' examples herof, may fyrst begyn in our Universities, where yonge men, and all sortes of studentes, joyninge godlye conversatyon with ther studyes in Learninge may after, as well by ther doinges as by ther preachinges, instructe & confyrme the rest of our subjectes, both in knowlege & feare of Almightye God, in the due Obedyence towards us, our lawes, & all others ther superiors, & in ther charytable demeanour towards all men. And because we know that when order is not keppe, all thynges grow to confusyon, we therfore have thowght good to wyll & requyre you, our

Chauncellour, & all others the Heades & Governours of the Colleges, & other Howses, that both yourselfs for your owne partes do exercyse your offices, & lyve, & cause all Scholers, Studentes, Servantes & Ministers, with others lyvyng under you, of what sorte, state or condytyon so ever thei be, to lyve, & frame themselves, their studies, conversations & maner of lyvinge, in soche forme & order, as by th'aunciente Statutes, Fundacions & Ordinaunces of that our Universitie, & of the Colleges, & others, is to you severally apoynted, whiche Statutes & Fundacions, we wyll be inviolablie kepte & observed, accordinge to th'aunciente Fundacions & Ordinaunces of the Fownders, & Grauntes of our Progenitours; & therfore do esteemes requyre & charge you our Chauncellour, whome we do auctoryse by theis presentes, for that purpose, to se the same well & truely observed, as you wyll answer for the contrarye, Notwithstandinge any Injunctyons, or newe Ordinaunces made, sett furthe, or delyvered by any Vysytours or others, sythens the deathe of our Father of most worthye memorye King Henrye th'eyght, (whome God assoyle) or any other newe devyces to the contrarye hereof. Given under our signet at our maner of Rychemonde this xxth of August, the first yere of our Reigne.

LETTER CL.

*Mary daughter of Emanuel King of Portugal to
Queen Mary I.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 48. Orig. ENTIRELY IN THE
PRINCESS'S HAND.]

. Mary daughter of Emanuel King of Portugal, by his third wife Eleonora of Austria, was the second cousin of Queen Mary. She was born June 8th, 1521. She was promised in marriage in 1526 to Francis dauphin of France, eldest son of Francis the First, who had recently married her mother, but the marriage never took effect any more than others which Anselme says were intended for her with several of the Sovereign Princes of Europe. She died unmarried in 1578, and was buried in the monastery of St. Mary at Lisbon which she had built.*

The Letter here laid before the reader is sealed with a shield of Arms in a lozenge, party per pale, the dexter side empty, possibly in allusion to her having been engaged in marriage to Francis, the sinister filled with the arms of Portugal.

MARIE Angliæ Reginæ serenissimæ, Maria Portugalliæ Infans, Regis Emanuelis filia, S. P.

Cum primum de fœlici rerum tuarum successu nuncius adlatus est, eam cepi animo voluptatem, quam et ratio sanguinis postulabat, et vero summi erga te amoris integritas exigebat; tum quod Deus Optimus Maximus inter infœlicium temporum concitatos motus illæsam te, et velut e mediis tempestatibus ereptam ac servatam, cui summam regni traderet, solam dignam

* Anselme, Hist. Genealogique, edit. Par. 1726. tom. I. p. 604.

esse judicavit ; tum quod tali ac tam prudenti moderatrice populis tuis bene consultum esse voluit, et universo orbi Christiano jucunditatem summam attulit. Qua in re incertum profecto nobis reliquit, utrum tibi jure sanguinis, an potius clarissimarum virtutum meritis, quibus inter hujus temporis Principes elluces, tam alta, et nobilis possessio debita sit : quam dum ego tibi cupio gratulari, quibus in tanto, et tam effuso meo gaudio verbis uti debeam, prorsus ignoro. Nec enim quisquam est (ut ex superioribus literis meis intelligere potuisti) quem magis læserint adversæ tuæ res, nec cui magis ex animo cesserint prosperæ. Nam si mihi jucundissimæ Literæ tuæ tam mirificam voluptatem olim attulerunt, ut eas, et in sinu gestare, et manibus tenere, et sæpius legere nunquam mihi fuerit satis, quanta animum meum lætitia, oblato hoc summi gaudii argumento, exhilaratum esse existimas ? Quare te oratam velim, ut quanto major ex hoc prospero tuarum rerum statu voluptas ad me pervenit, tanto crebriores literas, quas avidissime expecto, de tua incolumitate imposte- rum ad me des. Interim, a Deo Optimo Maximo votis omnibus contendam, ut qui regni tui author extitit, idem tuam hanc felicitatem firmam et stabilem esse velit, ac te populis tuis in summa tranquillitate diu servet incolumen. Vale. Olyssippone 19 cal. Octob. anno Domini 1553.

LETTER CLI.

*Henry Lord Darnley, afterwards husband to the Queen
of Scots, to Queen Mary of England.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 37 b. *Orig.*]

* * This Letter has been erroneously supposed to have been written to MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, but that this was not the case is evident from an examination of its contents.

Lord Darnley, though vain, was accomplished, and of a literary turn. Beside the "*Utopia Nova*" mentioned in this Letter, some ballads are ascribed to him, and bishop Montagu informs us that he translated Valerius Maximus into English. *

LYKE as the Monumentes of auncient authòrs, moste triumphante, moste victorious, and moste gracious Princesse declare how that a certane excellent musician, Timotheus Musicus, was wounte with his swete proporcioned and melodious armonye to enflame Alexander the greate Quonquerour and King of Macedonia to civill warres, with a moste fervent desire: evenso, I remembring with my self oftentimes how that (over and besides suche manifolde benefites as yòur Highnes hertofore haith bestoued on me) it haith pleased your moste excellent Maiestie laitlie to accepte a little Plote of my simple penning, which I termed *Vtopia Nova*; for the which it being base, vile, and

* Pref. to K. James's Works, fol. 1619.

maymed, your Maiestie haith gyven me a riche cheane of golde. The noyse (I say) of suche Instrumentes, as I heire now and then, (although ther melody diffre muche from the swete strokes and sounds of King Alexanders Timotheus) do not only persuade and move, yea pricke and spurre me forward, to endeavour my wittes daylie, (all vanities set aparte) to vertuous lerning and study, being therto thus encouraged, so oftentymes by your Maiesties manifolde benefites, giftes, and rewardes; but also I am enflamed and stirred, even now my tendre aige not withstanding, to be serving Your Grace, wishing euery haire in my heade for to be a wourthy souldiour, of that same self hert, mynde, and stomake that I am of. But wher as I perceave that neither my wite, power, nor yeares ar at this present coresponding unto this, my good will: thes shall be therfore (moste gracious Princesse) moste humbly rendring unto your Maiestie immortall thanks for your riche Cheane, and other your Highnes syndrie giftes, gyven unto me without anny my deservinges, from tyme to tyme. Trusting in God, one day, of my moste bounden duetie, to endeavour my self, with my faithfull hertie service, to remembre the same. And being afraid, with thes my superflous woordes to interturbe (God forefende) Your Highnes, whois moste excellent Maiestie is alwaies, and specially now, occupied in most weightie maters, thus I make an end: Praing unto Almighty God, moste humbly and faith-

fully to preserve, keipe, and defende your Maiestie, long reigning ouer us all, your true and faithfull subiectes, a most victorious and triumphant Princesse, Amen. From Temple Newsome, the xxviij. of Marche, 1554.

Your Maiesties moste bounden and obedient
subjecte and seruaunt,

HENRY DEBNLEY.

LETTER CLII.

*Queen Mary to the Marquis of Winchester, Lord
Treasurer.*

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. II. fol. 157. *Orig.* THE SIGNATURE AND
POSTSCRIPT IN THE QUEEN'S HAND.]

MY Lorde, forsomuche as at your departure frome me I made you a promys not to determyne the gyfte of anye lande wythowte your consent, wherfor I doo sende you here inclosyd a Byll which Sir Edmonde Peckham makethe requeste to have in suche sorte as yt shall appere unto you by the sayed bill, so that I shall desyre you to paruse yt well, and yf you thinke yt to be suche lande as I maye geve wythe my honor, I shall thinke yt verye well bestowyd, for that he is

one that hathe well deservyd yt and hathe had no kynde of recompence, and thus wythe my verye hartie comendacions I comytt you into the handes of Almightye God. From Farname the iijth. of Julye.

Your Mystresse assured

MARYE

THE QUEENE.

My lord I moste hartely thancke you for your dayly paynfulnes taken in my service.

LETTER CLIII.

Queen Mary to the Lord Privy Seal, upon the Arrival of Philip II.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 12. ENTIRELY IN THE QUEEN'S HAND.]

Instructions for my Lorde Previsel.

Fyrste to tell the Kyng the whole state of this Realme with all thyngs appartaynyng to the same, asmyche as ye knowe to be trewe.

Seconde to obey hys commandement in all thyngs.

Thyrdly in all thyngs he shall aske your advyse, to declare your opinion as becometh a faythfull Conceylour to do.

MARYE THE QUEENE.

LETTER CLIV.

*Letter of Privy Seal to the Clerk of the Queen's
Stables.*

[FROM THE ORIGINAL AMONG SIR WILLIAM MUSGRAVE'S PAPERS
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.]

* * * This Letter is curious, inasmuch as it explains what a Waggon or Chariot was in the days of Mary the First; such an one as was fit to convey the Ladies and Gentlewomen of her Privy Chamber.

By the Queen.

MARYE THE QUENE.

We will and commaunde you forthwith upon the sight hereof ye deliver or cause to be delivered to our trustie and welbeloved servaunte Edmonde Standen, clarke of our stable, one Wagon of tymbre work for Ladies and Gentlewomen of our Prevy Chamber with wheeles and axeltrees, strakes, nayles, clowts, and all maner of work thertoo apperteyninge; fine redde cloths to kever and line the same Wagon, fringed with redde sylke and lyned with redde buckeram paynted with redde colours; collers, drawghts of redde lether, hamer clothes with our Armes and badges of our colours; and all other things apperteininge unto the same Wagon: and these our Letters shalbe your sufficient warraunte and discharge on this behalfe at all tymes. Yeven under our signet at our Manour of Westminster the xxviiith. daye of Aprill in the thirde and fourthe Years of our Reign.

LETTER CLV.

The Princess Elizabeth to Queen Mary, upon her being ordered to go to the Tower at the time of Wyatt's Rebellion.

[MS. HARL. 7190. art. 2. a Transcript from the original in the State Paper Office.]

. Holinshed has given a most interesting Narrative of the transactions which preceded and followed the writing of this Letter: but too long to be transcribed in full.

The day after the breaking out of Wyatt's rebellion was known at Court, he says, the Queen sent three of her Council, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis to Ashridge, with a strong guard, to escort the Princess Elizabeth, who lay sick there, to London. When they arrived, at ten o'clock at night, the Princess had gone to rest, and refused to see them: they however entered her chamber rudely: when Her Grace, being not a little amazed, said unto them "Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?" They made answer that they were right sorry to see her in such a case. "And I," quoth she, "am not glad to see you here at this time of night." Whereunto they answered that they came from the Queen to do their message and duty; that it was the Queen's pleasure that her Grace should be in London on a given day, and that the orders were to bring her 'quick or dead.' The Princess complained of the harshness of their commission; but Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendie deciding that she might travel without danger of life, her Grace was informed that the Queen had sent her own Litter for her accommodation, and that the next morning she would be removed. She reached Redburne in a very feeble condition the first night; on the second she rested at Sir Ralph Rowlet's house at St. Albans; on the third at Mr. Dod's at Mimmes, and on the fourth at Highgate, where she stayed a night and a day. She was thence conveyed to the Court, where remaining a close prisoner for a whole fortnight she saw neither King, nor Queen, nor Lord, nor Friend. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, Gardiner bishop of Winchester with nineteen others of the Council came from the Queen, and charged her with being concerned not only in Wyatt's conspiracy but in

the rebellion of Sir Peter Carew. They then declared unto her the Queen's pleasure that she should go to the Tower till the matter could be further traced and examined. Against this she remonstrated, protesting her innocence, but the Lords answered that there was no remedy. Her own attendants were then dismissed, and those of the Queen placed about her.

"Upon Saturday following," says Holinshed, that is the next day, "two Lords of the Council (the one was the Earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her Grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her Grace requested the Lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied, that neither tide nor time was to be delaied. And when her Grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the Queens Majesty, he answered that he durst not permit that: adding that in his judgement it would rather hurt than profit her Grace in so doing. But the other Lord, more courteous and favourable (who was the Earl of Sussex), kneeling down, said she should have liberty to write, and, as a true man, he would deliver it to the Queens Highness, and bring an Answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. *Whereupon SHE WROTE*" the Letter which here follows:

To the Queen.

If any ever did try this olde saynge, that a Kinges worde was more than another man's othe, I most humbly beseche your Majesty to verifie it in me, and to remember your last promis and my last demande, that I be not condemned without answer and due profe: wiche it semes that now I am, for that without cause provid I am by your Counsel frome You commanded to go unto the Tower; a place more wonted for a false traitor, than a tru subject. Wiche thoght I knowe I deserve it not, yet in the face of al this realme aperes that it is provid; wiche I pray God, I may dy the shamefullist dethe that ever any died, afore

I may mene any suche thinge: and to this present hower I protest afor God (who shal juge my trueth, whatsoever malice shal devis) that I never practised, consiled, nor consentid to any thinge that might be prejudicial to Your parson any way, or daungerous to the State by any mene. And therfor I humbly beseche your Majestie to let me answer afore your selfe, and not suffer me to trust to your Counselors; yea and that afore I go to the Tower, if it be possible; if not, afore I be further condemned. Howbeit, I trust assuredly, your Highnes wyl give me leve to do it afore I go; for that thus shamfully I may not be cried out on, as now I shalbe; yea and without cause. Let consciens move your Hithnes to take some bettar way with me, than to make me be condemned in al mens sigh, afor my desert knowen. Also I most humbly beseche your Higthnes to pardon this my boldnes, wiche innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindnes; wiche I trust wyl not se me cast away without desert: wiche what it is, I wold desier no more of God, but that you truly knewe. Wiche thinge I thinke and beleve you shal never by report knowe, unless by your selfe you hire. I have harde in my time of many cast away, for want of comminge to the presence of ther Prince: and in late days I harde my Lorde of Sommerset say, that if his brother had bine sufferd to speke with him, he had never sufferd: but the perswasions wer made to him so gret,

that he was brogth in belefe that he coulede not live safely if the Admiral lived ; and that made him give his consent to his dethe. Thogth thes parsons ar not to be compared to your Majestie, yet I pray God, as ivel perswations perswade not one sistar again the other ; and al for that the have harde false report, and not harkene to the trueth knowin. Therfor ons again, kniling with humblenes of my hart, bicause I am not sufferd to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speke with your Higthnis : wiche I wolde not be so bold to desier, if I knewe not my selfe most clere, as I knowe my selfe most tru. And as for the traitor Wiat, he mighth paraventur writ me a lettor ; but, on my faithe, I never receved any from him. And as for the copie of my lettar sent to the Frenche Kinge, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or lettar by any menes : and to this my truith I will stande in to my dethe.

Your Highnes most faithful subject
that hathe bine from the begin-
ninge, and wylbe to my ende,

ELIZABETH.

I humbly crave but only one
worde of answer from your selfe.

UPON the succeeding day, Palm Sunday, an order was issued throughout London that every one should keep the church and carry his palm ; during which time the Princess was carried to the Tower.

The landing at the Traitor's gate she at first refused: but one of the Lords stepped back into the Barge to urge her coming out, "and because it did then rain," says Holinshed, "he offered to her his cloak, which she (putting it back with her hand with a good dash) refused. Then coming out, with one foot upon the stair, she said, 'Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs: and before thee O God I speak it, having none other friends but thee alone.'"

To her prison-chamber, it is stated, she was brought with great reluctance; and the locking and bolting of the doors upon her caused dismay. She was, moreover, for some time denied even the liberty of exercise. Early in the following May the Lord Chandos who was then the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office, and Sir Henry Bedingfield appointed in his room. "He brought with him," says the historian, "an hundred souldiers in blue coats, wherewith the Princess was marvellously discomfited, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the Lady Janes scaffold were taken away or no, fearing, by reason of their coming, least she should have played her part." Warton says^a she asked this question "with her usual liveliness:" but there was probably less in it of vivacity than he supposed. Sixty years before, upon the same spot, Sir James Tirell had been suddenly substituted for Sir Robert Brakenbury, preparatory to the disappearance of the Princes of the House of York. Happily for Elizabeth her fears were groundless; Sir Henry Bedingfield accompanied her to a less gloomy prison in the Palace of Woodstock.

Hearne has printed the Letter here laid before the reader, in his Preface to the Latin Edition of Camden's Annals, where it rests as it were re-buried.

The present copy has been taken from a Transcript communicated to Dr. Thomas Birch in 1732.

^a Life of Sir Tho. Pope, 2^d edit. p. 70.

LETTERS
OF
THE REIGN OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE Cottonian Manuscript Vespas. E. VIII. preserves the following
Lines in honour of QUEEN ELIZABETH in the hand-writing of
Camden the Historian.

“ Whom Princes serve and Realms obey,
And greatest of Bryton kings begot,
She came abroad e'en yesterday,
When such as saw her knew her not :
For one would ween that stood afar,
She were as other women are.

“ In truth it fares much otherwise,
For whilst they think they see a Queen,
It comes to pass ye can devise
No stranger sight for to be seen.
Such error falls in feeble eye,
That cannot view her stedfastly.

“ How so alas ! forsooth it is
Nature, that seldom works amiss,
In woman's breast by passing art
Hath harbour'd safe the Lion's heart,
And featly fix'd with all good grace
To SERPENT's *head* an ANGEL *face*.”

LETTER CLVI.

Sir William Fitzwilliam to Mr. More, high Sheriff of Surrey, concerning the proposed election of the Lord Chamberlain's and Sir William's sons to be Knights of the Shire for Surrey. Queen Elizabeth's refusal to hear mass on Christmas day, 1558.

[FROM SIR WILLIAM MORE'S PAPERS AT MR. MOLYNEUX'S AT LOSELY IN SURREY. Communicated by WILLIAM BRAY, ESQ.]

. The ambiguity of Queen Elizabeth's conduct for a few weeks after her accession, to balance the hopes and fears of Protestants and Papists, is sufficiently known. The latter part of the following Letter exhibits one of those little traits by which her Majesty's real intentions were gradually unfolded. It was one of the hints which she threw out to encourage the Protestants. She waited for the sanction of the Parliament, the election for which forms the topic of the first part of this Letter, before she ventured on the abolition of the Mass. "The Romish Religion," says Camden, "stood a full month and more after the death of Queen Mary in the same state as it was before."*

SIR,

I CAN but for these your late Lettyrs and all othyrs your gentelnes rendyr on to you moste hertye thanks. And to th'effect of your saide Lettyrs you shall ondyrstande that apou Sat'sdaye last I beyng at Londyn my sone Brown^b wrot on to me that he hade ondyrstandyng my Lorde Chamberlayn^c began to make labore

* Camd. Hist. Eliz. p. 81.

^b Sir Thomas Brown of Betchworth Castle in Dorking, married Mabel daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam.

^c Lord William Howard.

for hys sone to be one of the Knyghts for that shyre ; wherapon I sent to Mr. Cawrden to knowe hys opynyon theryn ; whose awnswer was that ffor hys own part he wolde take no knolege of annye shuche matyre, nor he thoght gode that my son sholde ; sayng ffurdyr that onelese my son dyd stande for the same, he wolde not ; and that he ondyrstode Mr. Sawndrys made, at the desyre of my saide Lord, earnest mene onto the ffreeholders abowte Kyngeston, which made awnswere that theye had promysyd ther gode wylls beffore, &c. Thus have I satesffyyd my said Sone of Mr. Cawyrden his mynde, and of myn own also (which ys myche a greable to the same) and I hope with the gode helpe of you and other gode ffrends, the mattyr wyll goo well ynoghe on owr syde, &c. Mr. Teylle wilbe with you apon Wenysdaye next, &c.

This nyght I came home late ffrom Londyn : and ffor newes you shall ondyrstande that yestyrdaye, beyng Crystemas day the Quene's Majestie repayryd to hyr great Closet wyth hyr nobles and ladyes as hath ben accustomyd in shuche hyghe ffeasts : and she parsewyng a Bysshope preparyng hym selfe to masse, all in the olde ffowrme, she tarryyd there on tyll the Gospelle was done : and when all the people lokyd for hyr to have offryde accordyng [to] the olde ffacyon, She with hyr nobles, reaturnyd agayn ffrom the Closet and the Mase onto hyr Priveye Chamber, which was strange on to dyvers, &c. Blessyd be God in all his gyfts, &c.

You shall knowe more of thys mattyr by Mr. Teylle,
&c. I pray you commend me and my wyffe, ffyrst
onto yourself and then to your gode wyffe, &c. This
Saynt Stewen is nyght, by yours as his own

WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM.

To the Right worshipfull Mr.
More, Sheryff of the Countees of
Surreye and Sussyxe.

LETTER CLVII.

*Sir William Cecil to Dr. Perne Vice Chancellor of
Cambridge, inclosing a Letter from Queen Eliza-
beth.*

[MS. BAKER, HARL. 7037. p. 265.]

* * Few readers, it is probable, need to be told, that the restoration of the reformed doctrines in 1559 received great opposition from the higher Clergy. The Convocation too presented to the House of Lords a Declaration in favor of the real presence in the eucharist, the mass, and the supremacy of the Pope, to which both the Universities afterwards subscribed; and even the use of the new Book of Common Prayer, from the resistance of the bishops, was carried in the Upper House by a majority of three only.

The anxious wish of Queen Elizabeth and her minister to reconcile the minds of the Members of the University of Cambridge, as forming one branch of her Clergy, to the new Order of things, will be seen in this and the accompanying Letter. The second, it must be owned, prescribes a Recipe well calculated to neutralize opposition.

MASTER VICECHANCELLOR: It hath pleased the
Queen's Majesty to determine amongst other common

helps for Students in both her Universities; that certain Prebends should be bestow'd upon such as be meet to profess Divinity. And because I have not presently leisure to enlarge to you Her Majesties good meaning, I do send to you Her Majesties Letters directed to me as Chancellor of that University, tho' truly unworthy, and therefore I pray you supply that which you shall perceive Her Majesty commandeth me, and I for my part upon return of your answere, will accomplish my duty that I owe to the honor of God in this behalf. Fare you well, with my hearty thanks for your diligence used in your Office. From Westminster scribed in hast, the second of April 1560.

Yours assuredly

WILLIAM CECILL.

I pray you return Her
Majesties Letters.

To Mr. Dr. Perne Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. My assured loving Friend.

LETTER CLVIII.

*The Queen to Sir William Cecil; the Inclosure in the
former Letter.*

[IBID. p. 266.]

By the Queen.

ELIZABETHE R.

TRUSTY and right well beloved we greet you well ; and whereas we be credibly informed that the Study of Divinity and the Scriptures is at this present very much decayd within the University of Cambridge, by mean that the towardly Scholers for that learning, have in some part lacked the benefit of exhibition ; and partly also have withdrawn themselves, by reason of the late alteration of the times past ; We have therefore determined, for some help in this matter, to provide that both the Promotions reserved to our gift, and such Prebends also as be within the compass of the grant of the Keeper of Our Great Seal, should be bestowed upon those Scholers that by your allowance and commendation shall be fittest to receive the same exhibition and promotions. For the more assured doing whereof, according to this our meaning, we will that you shall from time to time address several Schedules containing the names of all such hable Scholers, whereof the one

to remain with you Our Principall Secretary, for our better remembrance in the bestowing of the things of Our gift, and the other with the said Keeper of Our Great Seal, for the semblable to be performed on his behalf: not doubting but you will have earnest regard hereunto, according to your good will to Learning, and trust committed unto you for advancement of the same. Yeven under Our Signet at our Palace of Westm. the 26th of March the second year of Our Reign.

To our trusty and right well
beloved Councillor Sr. William
Cecill kt. our Principall Secretary,
Mr. of our Court of Wards &
Liveries, and Chancellor of our
University of Cambridge.

LETTER CLIX.

*Sir William Cecil to A portion of a
Letter.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. VII. fol. 224. Orig.]

* * * * *

THE matters betwixt the Quenes Majestie and the Quene of Scottes rest in these tearmes. The Quenes Majestie was contented in June to accord upon an En-

terview in August with the Quene of Scottes comming to Nottingham, so as the matters in France tooke good end before the last of July. And because at that tyme the trobles grew to be more desperat, the Entier-view was disappointed, and so excuse was sent to the Quene of Scottes by Sir Henry Sidney, with offer to mete at York betwixt Midsomer and the end of August; which is lyke to succede as the planetes in France shall be disposed; and nevertheles I find the Quenes Majestie here so well disposed to kepe amytye with the Quene of Scottes, as suerly the default of their two Agreementes shall not grow from the Quene here.

Her Majestie writeth to her at this presente, and maketh such distinction in her proceedinges, as on the one parte she maketh her well assured of her love towards her, and on the other she noteth plainly and franckly her offence towards the Guises, which she so tempereth by her Letters of her own devise to the Quene of Scottes, as I think she shall have cawse to think well of the Quene's Majestie, and to lament her uncles folish procedinge. The said Quene of Scottes, upon the disapointment of the Enterview, made her Progresse into the North parte of Scotland, where she hath as I heare ministred both justice, and lost not by her journey, as you know the Quene her mother was wont to do upon the frontiers. The intelligence betwixt this and that Realme remayneth in the same good tearmes as heretofore it did, and so is like to

continue, as I think untill the French seed be sown
to make division.

* * * * *

11th Octob. 1562

Your assured

W. CECILL.

LETTER CLX.

*Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil, concerning
the foundation of a Grammar School at Sandwich
in Kent. A. D. 1563.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 6. art. 71. Orig.]

WHERE of late, I made a requeste by letters, to
your honor, for the obteyninge of the Counsell's letters
in that cause opened unto yow: nowe I wolde be a
suter to the Quenes majestie, by your favourable fur-
derance, for the behofe of the Towne of Sandwiche,
concerninge her Highnes licence, as well to the Deane
and Chapter for their alienacion, or rather a lease in
fee farme of a rude acre of grounde belonginge to
their Church, wheron the towne wolde builde a
gramar Schoole: Mr. Manwood beinge so well dis-
posed therto, that he is fullye determyned to geve to

that foundation xx. li. by yere imperpetuum of his owne possessions presentlye. The Deane and Chapter (whome I have perticulerlie solicited) be well willinge of their grante, steyinge onlie at the quenes licence: the Towne itselfe whollie bent to the erection: Mr. Manwood his lande redy for assurance. The oportunitie beinge suche, I dowl not of the Quenes Majesties good and gracious assent: as I have learned by experience by my owne sute to her highnes, for the recoverye of the stipende of the Schoolemaster at Stoke colledge; perceyvinge then her godlie zeale to the furderance of learninge, yea in that case, where the Stipende went out of her owne cofers. This rare example of so godlie foundation in Mr. Manwood, a man of his vocation, who be comonlie judged rather to employe all ther habilities to their owne posterities, then to suche common respects; and he beinge not without yssue, (and is dailie like to have more) might have followed the common example, in leavinge the gaynes of his tyme to his ofspringe. And therefore I wolde wishe his purpose wer savored, bothe for example to others, as also to put away the common judgement whiche runneth upon suche as be of his callinge. I take it to be a motion of God, in consideracion that we pore Bishoppes be not nowe able to succede our predecessours in their so liberall foundations. Nowe you, suche as you be and as Mr. Manwood is, muste laye hande to the furderance of suche publicke endew-

mentes, or elles ye be not like to leave to your Successours whiche ye have receyved of your Ancestours.

For that I wolde have a vewe partlie of the grounde and situacion therof, (and for other causes) I (this last Sundaye morninge) rode thether from my house, and was there by vij. of the klok; the rather so sone, to prevent their civilitie of receyvinge, (as the maner is) and partlie to be present at ther wholl Service. But in the firste consideracion they prevented me: for, thoughte the morninge was verie fowle and raynye, yet I founde the Mayer and his Jurattes redye at the towne gate to accompanye me to my lodginge, and so to the churche, beinge men of honest civilitie, and comelie, grave parsonages of good understandinge: ther streets (as they might be for the straytnes of them) cleane, and not muche saveyrye, ther service songe in good distinct harmonie, and quiett devotion. The singinge men, beinge the Mayer and the Jurattes withe the head men of the towne, placed in the queere fayre and decent, in so good order as I cowde wishe. My Auditorye greate and attentyve to heare, and also to understande the Quenes pleasure in publication of the Generall Prayer and Faste: that I se not but the Quenes majestie shall have of them good subjectes & true Oratours. And furdernore, upon the erection of this Schoole; her Highnes shall have a number of yonge tender handes lifte up in prayer for her Highnes prosperous Raigne. The Strangers there, beinge verie

godlie in the Sabothe daye, and busie in ther worke on the weke daye, and their quietnes suche as the Mayer and his Brethren have no causes of variances comynge before them. As for other disorders re-formable by ecclesiasticall lawes, I have before nowe deputed ther Minister (a grave learned man) to exercise (by myne authoritie) ecclesiasticall censures as he shall see cause. As hetherto litle hath bene spied. By all the premisses aforesaide considered, I meane to comende the Townes requeste to the Quenes favour, so lawdable behavinge themselves as I se them, and partlie to expresse to you someparte of my joy whiche I have here by them in this outwarde corner of my diocess. And therfore, I praye your Honor helpe them. In so doinge *mercedem reportabis a Domino in resurrectione justorum*, whiche God of his mercye make joyfull to the Quenes Highnes and to us all. From my house at Bekesbourne this xxvijth. daye of Auguste 1563.

Your honors assured,

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

To the right honorable Sir
William Cecill knight princi-
pall Secretarie to the Quenes
majestie at the Courte.

LETTER CLXI.

*Lord John Gray of Pyrgo to Sir William Cecil, in
behalf of his niece, the Lady Catherine Gray.*

[MS. LANSD. Num. 7. art. 55. Orig.]

THE reader has been already made aware, that after the exclusion given by the Will of Henry the Eighth to the posterity of Margaret of Scotland, after the Acts of Parliament which he left unrepealed, and the publication of Edward the Sixth's Will, the right to the Crown of England was very generally considered to have devolved upon the House of Suffolk, of which THE LADY CATHERINE the sister of Lady Jane Gray was the heir.

This Lady had been married to Lord Herbert, the son of the Earl of Pembroke, whose father apprehending danger from an intermarriage with royal blood, obtained an immediate divorce.* The Lady Catherine then entered into a secret contract with the Earl of Hertford, whose sister the Lady Jane Seymour resided with her in the Court; both, seemingly, as Maids of Honour to the Queen.

The Queen went one morning to Eltham to hunt, when Lady Jane and Lady Catherine, according to previous concert, leaving the Palace at Westminster by the stairs at the orchard, went along by the sands to the Earl's house in Chanon Row; Lady Jane then went for a priest, and the parties were married. The Earl accompanied them back to the water-stairs of his House, put them into a boat, and they returned to the Court time enough for dinner in Master Comptroller's chamber. Having consummated his marriage Lord Hertford travelled into France. The pregnancy of Lady Catherine became apparent, and was soon whispered through the Court. She first confessed it privately to Mrs. Sentlowe, and afterwards sought Lord Robert Dudley's chamber to break out to him that she was married, in the hope of softening the anger of the Queen: but Elizabeth committed her to the Tower, where she was afterwards delivered of a son. Lord Hertford was summoned home to answer for his misdemeanor; when, confessing the marriage, he also was committed to the Tower.

* See Naunton, *Fragm. Regal.*

A Commission of Inquiry was next issued, at the head of which were Archbishop Parker, bishop Grindal, and Sir William Petre; when the parties being unable within a time prescribed to produce witnesses of the marriage, a definitive sentence was pronounced against them: and their imprisonment ordered to be continued during the Queen's pleasure. By bribing their keepers, however, they found means to have further intercourse; the fruit of which was another child. The Queen's vexation was now increased, and Lord Hertford was fined fifteen thousand pounds in the Star Chamber for a triple crime; five thousand for deflouring a virgin of the blood-royal in the Queen's House; five thousand for breaking his prison; and five thousand for repeating his vicious act.

A Copy of the Proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry in 1561 is still preserved in the Harleian MS. 6286, with the examinations of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine. The particulars as the reader will expect are extremely minute.

The Interest which the families of this young couple took in their fate will be seen in this and some succeeding Letters.

It is a great while, me thinckethe, Cowsine Cecill, since I sent unto you, in my Neeces behalfe, albeit I knowe, (opportunitie so servinge) you are not unmindfull of her miserable and comfortlesse estate. For who, wantinge the Princes favor, maye compt him selfe to live in any Realme; and becawse this time of all others hath ben compted a time of mercie, and forgebenes, I cannot but recomende her woefull liffe unto you. In faithe, I wolde I were the Queenes Confessor this Lent, that I might joine her in penance to forgeve and forget; or otherwise able to steppe into the pulpett, to tell her Highnes, that God will not forgeve her, unleast she frelye forgeve all the worlde. Thus restinge in hope of her Majesties further favor, shortlie to be extended, towards my Neece,

I committ you to Almightye god. From Pirgo the
sixthe of Marche 1563.

By your lovyng cousin
and assured frynd,

JOHN GREY.

To my verye lovinge cowsigne
Sir William Cecill knight cheife
Secretarie to the Queenes majestie.

A LIST of the furniture with which the Lady Catherine's prison-chamber in the Tower was supplied, in August 1561, from the Wardrobe there, will not be unamusing to the reader: It consisted of five pieces of Tapestry to hang the chamber; three window pieces of the like stuff; a sparver for a bed of changeable silk damask; a silk quilt of red striped with gold; a bed and boulder of downe with two pillows of downe; one white linnen quilt stuffed with wool; four pair of fustians, the one of six breadths the others of five; two carpets of Turkey making; one small window carpet; one chair of cloth of gold raised with crimson velvet, with two pommels of copper gilt, and the Quenes Arms on the back; one cushion of purple velvet; two footstools covered with green velvet; one cubbard joined; and one bed, one boulder, and a counterpane for her woman. It must be owned that this List looks royal; but some marginal notes in the hand writing of Sir Edward Warner the Lieutenant of the Tower, declare the whole to have been old, worn, broken, and dilapidated. ^a Sir Edward Warner in a Letter to Sir William Cecill Sept. 8th. 1563, says that the Lady Catherine did further injury to this furniture "with her monkeys and dogs." ^b

Portraits of Lady Catherine, holding her infant son Edward Lord Beauchamp in her arms, are preserved both at Alnwick and at Warwick castles: that at the former by Hans Holbein.

Sir Egerton Brydges in his edition of Collins's Peerage vol. i. p. 173. says that she had three children; Edward who died young, Edward Lord Beauchamp, and Thomas, who took to wife Isabel daughter of Edward Onley of Catesby in Northamptonshire.

^a MS. Lansd. Num. 5. art. 41.

^b MS. Lansd. Num. 7. art. 22.

LETTER CLXII.

*Lord John Gray to Sir William Cecil, thanking him
for the delivery of his niece to his custody at his seat
of Pyrgo.*

[MS. LANSD. 6. art. 27. Orig.]

. The ravages of the Plague in London in 1563, induced Queen Elizabeth to relax something of her severity toward Lord Hertford and Lady Catherine. Secretary Cecil writing to Sir Thomas Smith in France, in the month of August that year, says "My Lord of Hertford and my Lady Catherine, by cause of the plague are thus delivered. He with his mother as a prisoner. She with her uncle my Lord John Grey." He adds, "They die in London above a thousand in a week."

Good cowsigne Cecill, what cawse all we have to
thincke ourselves bounden and beholdinge unto you,
the livelye facte of your great friendship in the deli-
very of my Nyece to my custodye are sufficient pledges
and tokens for our bondage unto you duringe our lives;
and althoughe I can justlye lament the cawse of her
imprisonment, yet can I not lament thus far forth her
beinge there, becawse I see yt hathe ben the onelye
meanes wherebye she hath seen her selfe, knowen God,
and her dewtye to the Quene; which when it shall
farther please the Quenes Majestie to make triall of,
I dowbt not but my sayinge and her doinges shall

T 2

accorde; in which meane time I shall accordinge to my Lord Roberts lettre, and yours, directed unto me, se all thinges observed accordinglie. Assure your selfe (cowsigne Cecill) She is a penitent and a soroful woman for the Quenes displeass^r. and most humblye and heartelye desires you to fynishe that your frendshipp begonne, for the obteyninge of the Quenes favor in the full remission of her faulte. This with my wyves hearte commendatyon and myen to you and my good lady (ower cousen) your wyfe, I byd you most heartely farewell. From Pyrgo the 29th of August, 1563.

By yo^r lovyng Cousine
and assured pouer frynd dowryng lyfe

JOHN GREY.

To my very lovinge cowsigne
Sr. William Cecill knight chiefe
Secretorye to the Quene's Ma^{tie}.

Pyrgo, whence this Letter is dated, was the name of a capital messuage in the manor of Havering at Bower in Essex, which had anciently been one of the Houses belonging to a Queen consort and her jointure. Joan widow of Henry the Fourth died there July 9th. 1437. The estate having been long in the Crown, Queen Elizabeth April 24th. 1559 granted it to Sir John Gray second son of Thomas Marquis of Dorset and brother of Henry Duke of Suffolk, and of course uncle to the Lady Catherine.

A Letter of Lord John Gray's to Sir William Cecil, from Pyrgo, 20th Jan. 1564, complains of the reports which had gone abroad of the large sums expended for his prisoner, who appears to have been maintained at the expense of her husband, though at Pyrgo. He finishes his details with

“ My Ladie of Hartfords wekelye Rate for her borde, her childe, and her folks here :

" For my Ladye her selfe . . .	lxvj ^s .	viiij ^d .	} vj ^{ll} . xvj ^s . viij ^d ." *
For her Childe . . .	xliij ^s .	iiij ^d .	
For her Childe's nurce . . .	vj ^s .	viiij ^d .	
For M ^{rs} . Isham . . .	vj ^s .	viiij ^d .	
For M ^{rs} . Woodforde . . .	vj ^s .	viiij ^d .	
For M ^{rs} . Page . . .	vj ^s .	viiij ^d .	
For Nowell . . .	v ^s .		
For Robert . . .	v ^s .		
For W ^m . Hampton . . .	vj ^s .		
For a lackye . . .	v ^s .		
For her launder . . .	v ^s .		
For the widow that washethe the childes clothes . . .	v ^s .		

 LETTER CLXIII.

*Lady Catherine Gray, Countess of Hertford, to Sir
William Cecill, upon her removal to Pyrgo.*

[MS. LANSD. MS. G. art. 32. Orig.]

Good cosyne Cecill: after my very hartye commendacions to my good cosyne your wyfe and yow, wyth lyke thanks for your greate frendship showed me in thys my Lords delyverye and myne, wyth the obtaynyng of the Queens Majesties most gracious favor thus farforth extended towards us, I can not but acknowledg my selfe bounden and beholdyng unto yow therefore; and as I am sure yow dout not of myne owne deare Lords good wyll for the requitall therof to the

* MS. Lansd. Num. 7. art. 52.

uttermost of hys power, so I besich yow, good cosyne Cecill, make the lyke accompt of me duryng life to the uttermost of my power; besecheng your farther frendshyp for the obtayning of the Queens Majesties most graceous pardon and favor towards me, wych wyth upstretched hands and downe bente knees, from the bottom of my hart, most humbly I crave. Thus restyng in prayer for the Queen's Majesties long raigne over us, the forgevnes of myne offence, the short enjoying of my owne deare Lord and husband, wyth assured hope, throughe Gods grace, and yowr good helpe, and my lord Robert,^a for the enjoying of the Queens Hyghnes favor in that behalfe, I byd yow, my owne good cosyne, most hartely farewell, from Pyrgo the thred of September.

Your assured frend and cosyne to my small power,

KATHERYNE HARTFORD.

To my very loving Cosine Sir
William Cicyll knight Chief Secretary to the Queens Majestie
give thees.

^a Lord Robert Dudley.

LETTER CLXIV.

Lord John Gray to Sir Wm. Cecil, that his niece the Lady Catherine still pines away at the Queen's displeasure.

[MS. LANSDOWNE 6. art. 33. Orig.]

My good cowsigne Cecill, the onelye desire and care that my ladye hathe of the Queenes Majesties favour enforsethe these fewe lines, as nature bindeth me, to put you in remembrance, of your offered frendshipp and great good will, alredeye showed, to the full perfectinge of the Queenes Majesties favour in my neece. I assure you cowsigne Cecill (as I have written unto my lorde Robert) the thought and care she takethe for the wante of her Highenes favour, pines her awaye: before God I speake it, if it come not the soner, she will not longe live thus, she eatethe not above six morselles in the meale. If I saie unto her, "Good madam, eate somewhat to comfort your selfe," she faules a wepinge and goethe upp to her chamber; if I aske her what the cause is she usethe her self in that sorte, she aunswers me, "alas Unckell, what a liffe is this, to me, thus to live in the Queenes displeasure; but for my lorde, and my childerne, I wolde to God I were buried."

Good cowsigne Cecill, as time, places, and occasion maye serve, ease her of this woofull greiffe and sorrowe, and rid me of this liffe, which I assure you grevethe me even at the hearte rootes. Thus besceachinge God in this his visitacion, to preserve us with his stretched owt arme, and sende us, merely to meete, I salute you and my ladie with my wives most hartey commendacions and mine. From Pirgo, the xxth. of September,

by your lovyng cousin
and assured pouer
frynd dowryng my lyfe

JOHN GREY.

To my verye loving cowsigne
Sir William Cecill knight, cheife
Secretorye to the Queenes Majesty.

LETTER CLXV.

*Lord John Gray to Sir William Cecil, inclosing the
lady Catherine's Petition to the Queen.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 6. art. 37. Orig.]

My good cousen I have heerin enclosed the coppie of my neyces letter to the Queenes Mageste, wherin I

am to crave your fryndly advyes and counsell (before yt be delyvered to my lord Robert,) howe you lyke yt; for yf you wyll have onni thyng amendyd theer I pray you note yt, and my man shaull bryng yt backe to me agayne. For I wold be lothe theer shuld be onni faute found with onni word theerin wrytten. Good cousen Cecill as you may contynew your fryndshipp to the furtherauns of the Queenes Magestys most gracyous favor and merse towards her, I assure you she hathe emputed no smaulle parte of her well spedying unto your assured fryndshippe, wyche I am shure nether she nor I neyd not to request the contynuauns therof. Thus besechyng you to make my hearty commendatyons to my good lady my cousen, your wyfe, I take my leve of you for this tyme. From Pyrgo the 7th of November 1563.

By your lovyng cousine
and assured frynd
to my smaulle power

JOHN GREY.

To my verye lovinge cowsigne
Sir William Cecill knight cheif
Secretarye to the Quenes Majestie.

Lady Catherine's Petition to the Queen.

I DARE not presume Most gracious Sovereigne, to crave pardon for my disobedient and rasche matchinge of my selfe, without your Highenes consent, I onely most humblye sewe unto your Highenes, to continewe your mercyfull nature towarde me. I knowlege myselfe a most unworthye creature to feale so muche of your gracious favour as I have

don. My just felt miserye and continuall greife dothe teache me daielye, more and more, the greatnes of my faulte, and your princelye pittie encrease the my sorrowe, that have so forgotton my dewtie towards your Majestie. This is my great torment of minde. Maye it therefore please your excellent Magestie to licence me to be a most lowlye sutor unto your Highenes to extende towarde my miserable state your Magesties further favour and accustomed mercye, which uppon my knees in all humble wise I crave, with my daylye prayers to God, longe continew and preserve your majesties Raigne over us. From Pirgo the vijth. of November 1563.

Your Majesties most humble bounden
and obedient subjects. *

LETTER CLXVI.

*Lord John Gray to Sir William Cecil, still upon the
grief of Lady Catherine.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE NUM. 6. art. 43. Orig.]

THE augmentinge of my Neeces greiffe in the wantte of the Quenes Magesties favour enforsethe me (besides my dewtye in nature) everye waye to declare and recomende unto you, her miserable and wofull state; this thre or foure daies she hathe for the most parte kept her bedde, but altogether her chamber, in suche wise as I thought once I shulde have ben driven to have sent for some of the Quenes Phisicions; and I never came to her, but I founde her either

* MS. Lansd. Num. 6. art. 37.

wepinge or els sawe by her face she had wept. Wherefore good cowsigne Cecill, for the mutuall love which ought to be betwixt christen men, and for the love wherewith God hathe loved us, beinge his, procure by some waye or meanes, the Quenes Majesties farther favour towards her ; for assuredlye, she never went to bed all this time of her sicknes, but they that watched with her muche dowedt howe to fynde her in the morninge, for she is so fraughted with fleame by reason of thought, wepinge, and settinge still, that many times she is like to be overcome therewith : so as if she had not painefull women about her, I tell you trewlye cowsigne Cecill, I coulde not slepe in quiet. Thus with my hartey commendations to you and to my good ladye my cowsigne I wishe you the same quiet of minde, as to my selfe. From my howse at Pirgo the xijth. of December 1563.

By your lovyng cosine
and assured frynd to his power

JOHN GREY.

To my verye lovinge cowsigne
Sir William Cecill knight cheif
Secretorye to the Quenes Majestie.

LETTER CLXVII.

Lady Catherine Countess of Hertford to Sir William Cecil.

[MS. LANSDOWNE NUM. 6. art. 44. Orig.]

WHAT the long want of the Queens Majestys accustomed favor towards me hath breade in thys myserable and wretched body of myne, God only knoweth, as I dayly more and more, to the torment and wastying therof, do otherwyse feale then well able to express: wych if it shuld any long tyme thus contynew, I rather wyshe of God shortly to be buryed in the fayth and feare of hym, then in thys contynuall agony to lyve. As I have wryten unto my lord Robert, so, good cousyne Cycell, do I unto yow. I must confess I never fealte what the want of my Prynces favor was before now, wych by yowr good means and the rest of my very good Lords ons obtayned, I shall not requyre any of yow, if it faull through my default, to be means for the restetucyon therof; so myndfull, God wylling, shal I be not to offend her Hyghnes. Thus desyryng the contynuance of yowr frendshyp I most hartely byd yow farewell, good cousyne Cecyll, prayng yow to

make my harty commendacyons to my cousyne your
wyfe. From Pyrgo the xiiij of December
your poore cousyne and assured
frend to my small power,

KATHERYNE HARTFORD.

FROM a Letter of Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith of the 27th April, 1564, it seems probable that the Lady Catherine and Lord Hertford's imprisonments, in a measure, owed their prolongation to the mistaken zeal of one John Hales, who had been clerk of the hanaper in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

He says, "Here is fallen out a troublesome fond matter. John Hales had secretly made a book in the time of the last Parliament wherein he hath taken upon him to discuss no small matter, viz. the title to the Crown after the Queen's Majeste. Having confuted and rejected the line of the Scottish Queen, and made the line of the Lady Francis mother to the Lady Catherine only next and lawfull. He is committed to the Fleet for this boldness, specially because he hath communicated it to sundry persons. My Lord John Gray is in trouble also for it. Beside this, John Hales hath procured sentences and counsels of Lawyers from beyond seas to be written in maintenance of the Earl of Hertford's marriage. This dealing of his offendeth the Queen's Majesty very much. God give her Majesty by this chance a disposition to consider hereof that either by her marriage or by some common order, we poor subjects may know where to lean and adventure our lives with contentation of our consciences." ^a

In another, dated May 9th, 1564, Sir William Cecil says that he himself is not free from suspicion "because some of those committed upon the occasion had access to him in their suites." "In this matter I am by commandment occupied, whereof I could be content to be delivered: but I will go upright, neither *ad dextram* nor *ad sinistram*." ^b

^a MS. Lansd. Num. 102. art. 49. Bishop Jewell expressed himself in a similar manner upon this subject in a Letter to Peter Martyr, from Salisbury 7th Feb. 1562:

"Est Puella quedam nobilis, domina Catherina, Ducis Suffolchiensis filia, ex sanguine regio, eoque nominatim scripta ab Henrico Octavo in Testamento, ut si quid accidisset, quarto loco succederet. Ex eo, Comes Herfordiensis, juvenis, Ducis Somersetensis filius, suscepit filium, et multi putant ex stupro, sed ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis nuptiis. Se enim clam inter se contraxisse, et advocato sacrificatore, et paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse Nuptias. Ea res turbavit animos multorum. Nam si sunt vere Nuptiæ, Puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad spem Regni. O nos miseros, qui non possumus scire, sub quo Domino victuri simus." Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. iii. App. Num. 68.

^b MS. Lansd. Num. 102. art. 51.

On the 26th of November, 1564, Cecil writes, "Lord John Graye died five days past at Pyrgo, of whom his friends report that he died of thought, but his gout was sufficient to have ended his life." From this Letter it appears that Lady Catherine was then in the custody of Mr. Petre.*

On the 30th December he says, "The Queen's displeasure continueth still toward my Lord Hertford and my Lady Catherine."† Soon afterwards we find them again in the Tower.

LETTER CLXVIII.

Anne Duchess of Somerset to Sir William Cecil, soliciting the release of her son Lord Hertford and the Lady Catherine.

[MS. LANSDOWNE 8. art. 43. Orig.]

*.† This Letter is indorsed with the date of Jan. 9, 1565.

Good master Secretary after thys long sylens and for that as yet myne olde occasyon lettes myne attendans, I have presumed by leter to renew my sute for my sonne to the Quenes Majesty, and have lykewyse wrytten to my lord of Leycester, prayng you to sett in your helpyng hand to ende thys tedyous sute: wherin for me to reson how moch her Hyghnes displeasure ys to long lastyng, or how unmeate yt ys thys yowng couple should thus waxe olde in pryson, or how farre beter yt were for them to be abrode and lerne to serve, I wyll not; but leave those and such

* MS. Lansd. Num. 102. art. 57.

† Ibid. art. 59.

lyke speeches to the frendly setting forth of my good Lord and you; only my sekyng ys, that as ther ys none other cause syns her Majesties regne but hath had some favorable order or ende, so by your earnest conferryng and joynnyng with my good Lord, thys yowng couple may fele some lyke of her Majesties plentyfull mercy; to the procurement wherof, the more earnest my Lord and yow shall shew your selves, the more shall you sett forth the Queenes Majesties honor; and as a mother I must nedes say, the beter discharge your callynges and credyte. And so restyng in prayer, that God wold blesse your travell to some comfortable ende I take my leve.

Your assured lovyng freynd,

ANNE SOMERSET.

To my very lovyng freynd
Mr. Secretary.

LETTER CLXIX.

*Anne Duchess of Somerset to Sir William Cecil: upon
the same.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 9. art. 32. Orig.]

. This Letter is endorsed as having been received April 18th, 1566.

Good Mr. Secretary, yf I have let you alone all thys whyle I pray you thynke yt was to tary for my L.

Leycesters assystans, to whom as I have now wryten to take some occasyon to do good in my sonne's cause, so are thyese to pray you to provoke hym, and joyne with hym to further the same; trusting the occasyon of thyse Holy Weke and charytable tyme of forgevenes earnestly sett forth by hys Lordship and you, wyll bryng forth some comfortable frute of relyve to the long afflycted partyes: wherin my Lord and you cannot go so farre but God's cause and the Quene's honor bedd you go farther. Thus moch I thowght good to wret as gevyng occasyon for my Lord and you to move the Quenes Ma^y to mercy, and not styll to suffre this cause alone to rest without all favor and forgevenes. I can nomore but ons agayn pray yowre earnest dealyng herein; and lykwyse that myne humble duty of thanks for Mr. Mychells passport may be donne to her Hyghnes, and so do leave you to God.

Yo^r asured lovyng frynd,

ANNE SOMERSET.

To my lovyng frynd Mr.
Secretary.

WITHIN a year from the receipt of this Letter death released the Lady Catherine from her sufferings. The Harleian MS. No. 39. fol. 380. contains what is called "The Manner of her departing." The Reader will peruse it with a feeling of pity.

"All the night she continued in prayer, saying of psalms and hearing them read of others, sometimes saying them after others, and as soon as one Psalm was done she would call for another to be said; divers times she would rehearse the prayers appointed for the Visitation of the Sick, and five or six times the same night she said the prayers appointed to be

said at the hours of death, and when she was comforted by those that were about her, saying 'Madam be of good comfort, with God's help you shall live and do well many years,' she would answer 'No, no, no life in this worlde, but in the world to come I hope to live ever; for here is nothing but care and misery, and there is life everlasting:' and then seeing herself faint, she said 'Lord be merciful unto me, for now I begin to faint,' and all the time of her fainting, when any about her would chafe or rub her to comfort her, she would lift up her hands and eyes unto heaven and say 'Father of Heaven, for thy son Christ's sake, have mercy upon me.' Then said the Lady Hopton unto her, 'Madam be of good comfort, for with God his favour you shall live and escape this; for Mrs. Cousen saith you have escaped many dangers, when you were as like to die as you be nowe.' 'No, no my Ladie my time is come, and it is not God's will that I should live any longer, and his will be done, and not mine;' then, looking upon those that were about her, 'As I am, so shall you be, behold the picture of yourselves.' And about vi. or vij. of the clocke in the morning she desired those that were about her to cause Sir Owen Hoptone to come unto her, and when he came he said unto her, 'Good Madam how do you,' and she said, 'Even now going to God, Sir Owen, even as fast as I can; and I pray you and the rest that be about me to bear witness with me that I die a true Christian, and that I believe to be saved by the death of Christ, and that I am one that he hath shed his most precious blood for; and I ask God and all the world forgiveness, and I forgive all the world.' Then she said unto Sir Owen Hoptone 'I beseech you promise me one thing, that you yourself with your own mouth will make this request unto the Queen's Majesty, which shall be the last suit and request that ever I shall make unto her Highness, even from the mouth of a dead woman; that she would forgive her displeasure towards me as my hope is she hath done; I must needs confess I have greatly offended her, in that I made my choice without her knowledge, otherwise I take God to witness I had never the heart to think any evil against her Majesty; and that she would be good unto my children, and not to impute my fault unto them, whom I give wholly unto Her Majesty: for in my life they have had few friends, and fewer shall they have when I am dead, except Her Majesty be gracious unto them: and I desire her Highness to be good unto my Lord, for I know this my death will be heavy news unto him, that her Grace will be so good as to send liberty to glad his sorrowful heart withall.'* Then she said unto Sir Owen, 'I shall further desire you to deliver from me certain commendations and Tokens unto my Lord,' and calling unto her woman, she said, 'Give me the box wherein

* The Lord Hertford remained in prison NINE years.

my wedding Ring is,' and when she had it she opened it, and took out a Ring with a pointed diamond in it, and said, 'Here Sir Owen, deliver this unto my Lord, this is the Ring that I received of him when I gave myself unto him and gave him my faith.' 'What say you, Madam,' said Sir Owen, 'was this your Wedding Ring?' 'No, Sir Owen,' she said, 'this was the Ring of my assurance unto my Lord, and there is my Wedding Ring,' taking another Ring all of gold out of the box, saying, 'Deliver this also unto my Lord,' and pray him even as I have been to him, as I take God to witness I have been, a true and a faithful Wife, that he would be a loving and a natural Father unto my children, unto whom I give the same blessing that God gave unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' And then took she out another Ring with a Death's head, and said 'This shall be the last Token unto my Lord that ever I shall send him; it is the picture of myself.' The words about the Death's head were these '*While I live yours,*' and so, looking down upon her hands, and perceiving the nails to look purple, said, 'Lo here he is come,' and then as it were with a joyful countenance she said 'welcome Death,' and embracing herself with her arms, and lifting up her eyes and hands unto heaven, knocking her hands upon her breast, she brake forth and said 'O Lord! for thy manifold mercies, blot out of thy Book all mine offenses!' Whereby Sir Owen perceiving her to draw towards her end, said to Mr. Bockeham were it not best to send to the Church that the bell^b may be rung, and she herself hearing him, 'Good Sir Owen let it be so.' Then immediately perceiving her end to be near, she entered into Prayer, and said, 'O Lord! into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit:' and so putting down her eyes with her own hands she yielded unto God her meek spirit at nine of the clock in the Morning the 27th of January, 1567."

THE marriage between Lady Catherine Gray and the Earl of Hertford was not established till 1606; when the priest who had joined them being produced, and other circumstances agreeing, a jury at common law found it a good marriage.^c Several papers relating to Lord Beauchamp's Appeal against the Sentence of the Commission, in 1604, occur in the Cottonian MS. Vitellius C. xvi. foll. 412, 458, 516, 522: and Sir Julius Caesar's Notes from the Jurisconsults when the sentence was reversed, in the Lansdowne MS. 732.

^a This Ring had been exhibited by Lady Catherine to the Commission of Inquiry. It consisted of five links, the four inner ones containing the following posse of the Earl's making:

"As circles five by art compact shewe but one Ring in sight,
So trust uniteth faithfull mindes with knott of secret might;
Whose force to breake but greedie Death noe wight possesseth power,
As time and sequels well shall prove. My Ringe can say no more."

^b The *Passing Bell*. It was rung at the passing from Life to Death, with the intension that those who heard it should pray for the person dying.

^c Brydges's Edit. of Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 172.

LETTER CLXX.

*Secretary Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith in France.
The Queen seized with Illness.*

[MS. LANSD. 102. art. 58. Orig.]

* * * * *

THE Quenes Majesty fell perillosly sick on Saturday last, the accident cam to that which they call diarrhoea. We feared a flux. She is somewhat weakned, but in helth and will attend hir affayres after Satyrday, which is to morrow, assure you. She is clearly hoole, but for the tyme she made us sore afrayed. Thanked be God for both. For of both we take good: warned by hir sicknes, and comforted by hir recovery.

* * * * *

xv. Decemb. 1564.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

LETTER CLXXI.

Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith. A portion of a Letter. The Earls of Leicester and Sussex made knights of the French King's Order. Lord Darnley and Lord Leicester separately proposed as husbands for the Scottish Queen. Sir William wishes a marriage for Queen Elizabeth.

[MS. LANSD. 102. art. 59. Orig.]

. The appearance of content which Queen Elizabeth affected, to live and die a maiden Queen, has been already commented upon in the second volume of the former Series. They, however, who peruse the original papers of her time, will learn that this content was subject to vibrations. Marriage indeed, whether for herself or others, was a constant source of perplexity. Sir William Cecil in the latter part of this, and in one or two other Letters here before the reader, speaks of the double offer of matrimony to the Queen, the projected marriage of the Queen of Scots, and the secret but undignified marriage of the Lady Mary Gray, as all going on at the same time. Lady Catherine Gray and Lord Hertford were in prison.

* * * * *

ON Saturday the French ambassador was here with the Queens Ma^{ty}. who delt in twoo principall matters, the one to know hir plesur for the offers made by the King his Master, to choose my Lord of Lecester and any other to be named by hir Ma^{ty}. to be of his Order. Wherunto hir Ma^{ty}. did resolve to have my Lord of Leccster to be chosen: but for the second place she 'wold herafter advertise the Kyng hir plesure. The

second matter was to know hir plesure in his former sutes made that the French Kings subjectes might resort with commodities from the Kyng of Spaynes low Countrees hyther, wherin abowt x. dayes past he had a long debate with the Counsell, and wold not be therin satisfyed although we shewed hym what yow had wrytten, and how yow found the Kyng and his Counsell satisfyed with your answers made. But now we had a very reddy answer to hym, that was because we had not prohibited the French but for a season duryng theis differencees with Flaunders, we being now at an accord with them he shuld see that liberty shuld be gyven shortly to all persons, and then the French might use there plesur. This knowledg gyven hym of our accord, semed to answer hym fully, and he sayd that he was therof fully gladd.

Now whylest I am wrytyng, I understand that meanes is made that Sir Nicholas Throkmorton might goo to the French ambassador with report that uppon instance made by my L. of Lecester hir Ma^{ty} will name my L. of Sussex for the second party, and so untill I here more I doo forbear wrytyng thereof.

In Scotland ther hath bene a Perlement wherin no-thing is doone but the restitution of the Erle of Lenox; as for my Ladyes clayme to Angush, by reason of the greatness of the Erle Morton being Chancellor, no-thing is attempted. The Erle of Lennox frends wish that the L. Darly might marry with the Scottish Quene: and I see some devise to bryng the Quenes

Majesty not only to allow therof, but also to move it to the Quene hir sistur : but I see no disposition therto in hir Majesty ; ^a but she rather contynueth hir desyre to have my L. of Leicester preferred that waye, for which purpoos ther was this last month a metyng at Barwyk with my Lord of Murray and the Lord of Ledyngton, but yet covered with other matters : and now of late it is from thence renewed, to know with what conditions the Queens Majesty will preferr hym, wherein at this present no full answer is yet gyven : but to saye the truth of my knoledg in theis tycle matters I can affirm nothyng that I can assure to contynew. ^b

I see the Qu. Ma^{ty} very desyrooss to have my L. of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Scottish Queen's husband, but whan it commeth to the conditions which ar demanded, I see her than remiss of hir earnestnes.

This also I see in the Qu. Ma^{ty} a sufficient contenta-

^a The Instructions to Mr. Randolph how to confer with the Queen of Scots when her marrying with Lord Darnley was suspected, in Secretary Cecil's hand writing, are preserved in MS. Lansd. Num. 2. art. 22.

^b Lord Darnley seems to have been anxious to retain Lord Leicester's kindness at this time. The Harleian MS. 787. fol. 1. preserves the following Copy of a Letter from him to Lord Leicester, written in February 1564-5.

" My especiall good Lord, your accustomed friendlynes during my continuance in the Court, yes since I first knew your Lordship cannot, though I am now far from you, be forgotten of my part : but the remembrance thereof constreyneth me in these few lynes to give your Lordship my humble thanks therefore, and to assure your Lordship that, during my life, I shall not be forgetfull of your great goodness and good nature shewed sundry wayes to me : but to my power shall ever be ready to gratifye you in any thinge I may as assuredly as your owne brother. And thus with my humble commendacions to your good Lordship, I wish you as well as your owne heart would. From Dunkell the 21 of February 1564.

Your L^{ty} assured to command,

H. DARNLEY."

" My L. my father sendeth your Lordship his most hartly commendacions."

tion to be moved to marry abroad, and if it so may please Almighty God, to leade by the hand some mete person to come and lay hand on hir to hir contentation, I cold than wish my self more helth to endure my yeres somewhat longar to enjoye such a world here as I trust wold follow: othervise I assure yow, as now thyngs hang in desperation, I have no comfort to lyve.

* * * * *

The 30 of Decemb. 1564.

Your assured for ever

W. CECILL.

LETTER CLXXII.

Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith on the Queen of Scot's marriage with Lord Darnley. Propositions of the Emperor and France for Queen Elizabeth's marriage.

[MS. LANSD. 102. art. 60. Orig.]

SIR,

I THYNK the twoo Quenes have satisfyed ether themselves with their enterviews, or rather filled the desyres of their traynes. Ther are sondry expectations of the fructs hereof, and as most communly used in Prynces casees, no small thyngs projected. I dowt not but though yow shall be farr off, yow will use a long

anglyng wand to catch some knoledg. And lykewise I thynk yow here of some expectation what shall follow of the rumor of the mariadg betwixt the Q. of Scotts and the L. Darlye.

The Lord of Lyddyngton cam hyther to obteyne the Q. Majesties consent, but he found great offence. Sir Nich. Throkmorton was sent to declare the discontentment of hir Majesty, and meanes how to break it. He retorned on Frydaye well rewarded; but he cold not dissolve it, although he sayth it is mislyked of all the substance of the realme, and she hir self confesseth that if it were to be done she wold be otherwise advised; but she is determyned, and prayeth hir Ma^{ty} here to comport with hir untill she will send on of hers hyther (which shall be M^r. Hayes) to declare to the Quenes Majesty some reasons on hir behalf. I thynk my Lady Lennox shall be committed to some further custodye; and my Lords hir husband and sonne shall forfayt that they may here with us. And because it is lykely ther fundation in England is uppon Papists, the Protestants here shall receave more comfort and the Papists more disgrace.

Th'Emperors Ambassador is not idle in his matter but presseth the matter for the Archduk discretly and diligently. One great obstacle is that the Q. Majesty will nedes see before she marry. And how that devise can be performed, if she shuld assent ether to the French Kyng, or to the Archduke, will prove hard. Hir Ma^{ty} remembreth hir promiss to remayn free

untill she have well answered the French Kyng, and so hir Ma^{ty} considereth mete for hir honor to doo; which causeth the Emperors ambassador to lack resolution, and yet he fyndeth, as I her, so generall a lykyng amongst the great Lords here that he is in great hope to spede. What shall follow God knoweth.

My Lord of Leicester fundereth the Quenes Majesty with all good reasons to take on of these great Prynces, wherin suerly perceaving his own cause not sperable, he doth honorably and wisely. I see few noblemen devoted to France; but I being *Mancipium Reginae*, and lackyng witt for to expend so great a matter, will follow with service wher hir Ma^{ty} will goo before.

Sir H. Sydney shall be Deputy in Irland. Shan O'neyle hath overthrowen James McOnele, and takyn hym and his brother, wherin a nombre of English soldiors being with Shan did only gayne the Victory. If now the Queens Majesty may have the possession of theis prisoners, it shall be profitable: otherwyse Shanes victory will be dangerooss for Irland.

* * * * *

And thus you see I have scribled many thyngs in haste to satisfy your expectation, assuryng you my lesure is so lytle as I thynk this to be the twentyth Lettre all redy wrytten this daye on Sunday 3 Junij 1565.

Yours assured

W. CECILL.

LETTER CLXXIII.

Sir William Cecill to Sir Thomas Smith : still upon the Queen of Scot's marriage. The Scottish Lords disgusted. The Marriage of Lady Mary Gray.

[MS. LANSD. 102. art. 62. Orig.]

* * * *

Mr. THOMWORTH was sent to the Queen of Scotts. Uppon this occasion, the Scottish Queen hath sent twise hyther to requere the Queens Majesty to declare for what causes she did mislyk of this Mariadg, offryng also to satisfy the same. In the meane tyme, troobles arrise there betwixt her and the Erle of Murraye and others being frendly to the common amyty of both the realmes; whereunto for sondry respects it semeth convenient for us to have regard. The Duke, the Erles of Argile, Murray, and Rothoss with sondry barons are joynid together, not to allow of the mariadg otherwise than to have the Religion stablished by law, but the Quene refuseth in this sort, she will not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man, to lyve according to his conscience; and herewith she

hath reteyned a gret nombre of Protestants from association oppenly with the other. She hath sent for the Erle Murray, but the mistrust is so farr entred on both sydes, that I thynk it will fall to an evill end, for she hath putt the Erle of Murray to the horn and prohibited all persons to ayde hym. Nevertheless the Duke the Erles of Argile and Rothoss are togither with hym. We shall here by Mr. Tomworth what is most lykly to follow.

* * * * *

The Quenes Majesty, thanked be God, is well disposed towards mariadg. Th'Emperors Embassador is departed with an honorable answer, and hym self well satisfyed; and commen opinion is that the Archduke Charles will come; which if he doo, and will accord with us in Relligyon, and shall be allowable for his person to hir Majesty, than, except God shall purpose to contynew his displesur ageynst us We shall see some success.

Here is a unhappy chance and monstroos. The Serjeant Porter, being the biggest gentillman in this Court, hath marryed secretly the Lady Mary Grey; the lest of all the Court.

They are committed to severall^a prisons. The offence is very great. And so now being hasted by

^a separate.

the French amb^r. I end. From Wyndsor the 21 of August 1565.

I thank you for your dilligent
Advertisements.

Your assured
to command

W. CECILL.

To the right honorable Sir
Thomas Smith knight, The
Queenes Majesties Ambass^r. re-
sident in France.

LETTER CLXXIV.

Mary and Henry, King and Queen of Scots, a circular Letter declaring a Progress against the Rebels, and ordering men to join them at Edinburgh in arms.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. X. fol. 333 b. Orig.]

TRAIST freind, We grete you wele. That quhilk before we suspectit hes now declarit the self in deid, for oure rebelles hes reterit thame to the Incuntre, the suffering quhairof is na wayis to ws honorabill. We mynd, God willing, in proper personis to pas for thair persute, quhairunto it is neidfull that We be weill and substanciouslie accompaneit. We pray zow thairfor

effectuusle that ze with zoⁿ kin, freindis, and houshold weill bodin in feir^a of weir, and providit to remaine fol xv. dayis efter zoⁿ cuming, addres zow to mete ws at Edinburgh the xxvth day of August instant be sex ho^{rs} at evin, and swa to pas furthwat w^t ws as ze will declair the gud affectioun ze beir to ws and o^r service, and do ws maist acceptabill pless^r. Subscrevut withoure handis at Edinburgh the xxij. day of August, 1565.

MARIE R.

HENRY R.

LETTER CLXXV.

Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith: upon the Archduke's offer to the Queen.

[MS. LANSD. 102. art. 63. Orig.]

I doo not well remembre whyther I wrote to yow of the Emperors Ambassadors answer here. The Quenes Majesty will marry with none without sight of his person, nor with any that shall discent in Relligion; for the rest of the Articles they are referred to the Treaty betwixt Kyng Phillip and Queen Mary. I think the Archduke will come. But of his Relligion no body shall know I thynk but hir Ma^{ty}, nor she,

* fare ?

untill he see hope of spedying. The whole Nobilitie, to my understanding, favor this very much, and my Lord of Lecester hath behaved hym self very wisely to allow of it. I am so willing to have you come home, that my brother being named as your successor, I doo press hym therto much ageynst his will. The 30th of August, almost at midnight.

Our intercourse standeth upon narrow poynts, and all for our import of clothes. But yet I trust they will accord.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

To the right honorable Sir
Thomas Smith knight The
Quenes Ma^{ties} Ambassador re-
sident in France.

LETTER CLXXVI.

Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith. The Queen of Scots' subjects dissatisfied. The insolence of Darnley.

[MS. LANSD. 102. art. 64. Orig.]

SIR,

AT this present I have so manny wayes to turn my hand that I can write no more, but only remitt yow to hir Ma^{ties} Lettres.

The Queen of Scotts hath much less nombre of herts than hir subjects, but yow know the inequalite of the match, and therfor the event is uncertain. The yong Kyng is so insolent as his father is weary of his government, and is departed from the Court. Assure your self to here shortly certenty for your revocation. p^o. Septemb. 1565.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

To the right honorable Sir
Thomas Smith knight the
Quene's Majesties Ambassador
in France.

LETTER CLXXVII.

*The Queen to Mr. Thomas Randolph concerning the
Appointment of Commissioners to meet on the fron-
tiers of Scotland.*

[MS. LANSD. 8. num. 25. Orig.]

By the Quene.

ELIZABETH R.

TRUSTY and welbeloved we grete you well Where
by your letters of the xxiiijth. of January directed to

our Secretary, and by him imported to us and our Counsaile, it appeareth upon signification made to that Quene by you of the appointment of our cosin the Erle of Bedford and Sir John Forster to be our comissioners upon the frontiers, that she named at the first for hir part the Lord Hume and the Lord Cefford hir wardens; and afterward upon an allegation made by you of the inequality betwixt the degre of our cosin the Erle of Bedford and the Lord Hume, it was therfore changed and ordered that the Erle Bothwell shuld be in place of the Lord Hume, which yow took for the last resolute answer.

Herupon we find some difficulty what to allowe or to refuse, for in dede were it not that we wold gladly by entring into a treaty attempt some good meanes for the restitution of the Erle of Murrey and his associates, and therwith also procure, as the time requireth, to have better administration of justice upon the frontiers then presently appeareth: we wold not procede any further in a matter that hath such untowardnes in it as it hath. And therefore upon this occasion we do resolve that you shall herin use your discretion to obteyne this our purpose which followeth.

We have no good liking to have the Erle Bothwell one, and therefore if it might be compassed by your dealing with some of the councellors there, that have both good meaning to peace and creditt, we wold wish

that some other Erle of better disposicion than we take the Erle Bothwell to be, might be joyned either to the Lord Hume or to Cefford, or to any better (if better may be gotten) which shuld content us, for in no wise if we may choose, can we allowe of Bothewell.

And we think, if it were not to encrease this mallice towardes the Erle of Murrey, yt were reasonable to except playnly against him in respect of his yll reportes and slawnders which we have hard that he made being in favour both of the Quene his Sovereaigne and of us, and therby farr unmete to treat in any matters of amyty towching us. Nevertheles we remitt it to your consideration whether to expresse that, or otherwise to use the matter to procure the forbearing of him. And if you shall find no convenient way to obteyne any other Erle of good condition in his place, then we shall accept the Erle Bothwell, although we think the first choyce of the Lord Hume were better. But to avoyde the example to have an Earle of our Land matched with a baron of Scotland, we shall aventure of the Erle Bothewell.

And thus yow see how hardly we ar brought to this Treaty, and yet for the considerations above expressed, we wold have you procede: wherin we require you to use your discretion as may best tend to the purpose ment, and therof to advertise us with as much spede as you can.

Geven under our Signet at our pallace of West-

minster the second day of february 1565 the eight yere of our reigne.

To our trusty and welbeloved
servant Thomas Randolphesquier
our Agent

Scotland.

LETTER CLXXVIII.

Richard Onslow, Esq. Recorder of London, to Sir William Cecil; concerning the Proclamation against Hosiers.

[MS. LANSDOWNE 8. art. 64. Orig.]

MAY it please your honour to be advertised that in the execucion of the Quenes Majesties late Proclamation against Hosiers, I have ben often demaunded by dyvers of them whether they myght lawfully without offending of the proclamacion, or daunger of forfayture of their landes, lyne a Sloppe-hose not cutte in panes wyth a lynying of Cotton styched to the Sloppe, over & besydes the lynnyn lynying, and the other lynying straytt to the legg: whereunto upon consyderacion of the wordes of the proclamacion I aunswered them all, that I thought surely they could not; and that any loose lynying not straytt to the legg was not permytted, but for the lynying of panes only, and that the hole upper stock being in our Sloppe uncutt, could not be sayd to be in panes, wherewith they departed satisfied.

Sythens which tyme dyvers of them have ben wythe me, & declared that for as moche as they have refused to lyne the Slopp so, their customers have gone from them to other hosyers dwelling wythout Temple Barr, who not only have so lyned the Slopp, but also have sayd that your Honour hath declared, that they may lawfully so doe; and that some of your servauntes do weare such; whereof I thought it my dutye to advertise your Honour, and further do desyre yowr advise therein, to the ende that yf it were so meant by the proclamacion (whiche I could not gatherr of the wordes thereof) or that it shall be promytte & tollerated in that poynt, that I may give understanding thereof to our poore Citezins, who otherwyse by their more carefull obeyng of the same, may be sore hyndered & impoverysed by losse of ther customers and lack of worke; & other foryners be thereby enryched. And thus I leave further to trowble your Honour wyshing to the same contynuaunce of good helth. From my poore howse in the late Black Freres in London this last of February 1565.

Your Honours moost humble
at commaundement,

RY. ONSLOWE.

To the right honorable Sir William
Cecill knight, Principall Secretarye of
the Quenes Majestie, and Master of
her Majesties Wardes & Lyveries,
geve thes.

LETTER CLXXIX.

*Lady Mary Gray to Sir William Cecil, upon her
loss of the Queen's favor.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 8. art. 67. Orig.]

. The cause of the grief mentioned in this and the succeeding Letter has been already explained in a paragraph in that of Sir William Cecil of the 21st Aug. 1565. Lady Mary Gray the third and youngest daughter of Henry Duke of Suffolk had married Henry Keys, the Queen's gentleman porter. Sir William Cecil says they were committed to separate prisons. He also says that She was the smallest woman in the Court. Sandford says she was deformed; and that she died without issue. The date of 1566 in these Letters is, of course, 1564. Mr. Hawtrey mentioned in the second, was the person from whose charge she was exchanged to that of the Duchess of Somerset.* It is probable that she died before 1571, as her name does not occur in the List of Claimants for the Succession, noticed in the observations upon Michele's Report, from a French Manuscript written in that year.

Good master Secrytary I must crave pardonn at
your handes for trublynge you so oftenn withe my
rude letters, but I trust you conceve what a greffe the
Quenes Majestes displessur is to me, whiche makes me
to wyshe deathe rather thenn to be in thes greatte
mesery witheout her Majestes favor, and therfor I am
forst to crave your help and goodnes to be a con-
teneweall mean for me to her Majeste, to gett me her
Majestes favor agayen; trustynge if I myghte ons ob-
tayne it, never to foregoo it, whill I lyve, so necttly-
gently as I have donn, God geveinge me his grace,

* See Lord Burghley's Notes of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in Murdin, p. 764.

whiche I truste hee will withe my conteneuall prayer for it, and therfor as you have begonn to forther me to her Majesty for her Majestes favor, so I truste yow will conteneue untill you have gotten it me. And thys I leve to trubell you for thys tyme, prayenge god to send you good spede. From Chekers the xxiiijth. daye of Jenuary 1566.

Yours to commande duringe my lyfe,

MARY GRAYE.

To the ryghte honorable Ser
Willyam Cycell knyght, prynci-
pall Secrytary to the Quenes most
excellent Majeste at the Courte,
geve thes.

LETTER CLXXX.

*Lady Mary Gray, assuring Sir William Cecil of her
repentance.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE num. 8. art. 68. Orig.]

Good master Secretary, I have receved your mes-
sage you sente me by master Hawtry, wherin I do
parceve you ar in dout whether I do conteneue in my
foly stell or no; whiche I assuer you I do as muche
repent as ever dyd any, not only for that I have therby
geven occasyon to my enymyes to rejoyes at my fond
parte, but also for that I have therbe incurred the

Quenes Majestes desplessur, whiche is the greattest greff to me; for that the princes favor is not so sonn gotten agayn, and I assure you to be without it is suche agreff to any true Subjectes hartt, as no turment can be greater, as I most wofull wreche have to well tryed; desiringe rather deathe then to be any longer without so greatt a juell, as her Majestes favor shold be to me. Wherfor for god sake, as you have begun for to be a meane to her Majeste in gettinge me thes great and longe desired tressure, so contenew untell you have made me so happy as to obtayen it for me, and this I leve to trubell you any further at this tyme, prayinge to god to send you prossperus suces. From Chekers the vij daye of February 1566.

Yours to commande duringe my lyfe,

MARY GRAYE.

To the ryghte honorable Sir
Willyam Cecill knyght, prency-
pall Secrytary to the Quenes most
excelent Majeste at the Court
geve thes.

LETTER CLXXXI.

*Christopher Jonson, Master of Winchester School, to
Sir William Cecil, upon the perverseness of Rich.
Lyllington, one of his Scholars.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 10. art. 55. Orig.]

. The unceasing employ of Sir William Cecil's mind while Secretary of State, can only be known to those whose researches lead them to the documents of his time. From the question of Peace or War down to a regulation for the lining of slop-hose; from quarrels at court to the bickering between a schoolmaster and his scholar; from the arrest of a Peer to the punishment of a cutpurse; all was reported to him, and by all parties in turn was his favour craved.

Christopher Jonson, the writer of this Letter, became master of Winchester School in 1560. Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, describes him as a Latin poet, a philosopher, and a physician. He did not remain master of Winchester School for a great many years; but settled in London, and practised as a physician in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, where he died in 1597.

RIGHT honourable my duetie with all humblenesse
consydered: I received of late your honoures Letters
in the behalfe of one Richard Lyllington a scholare of
myne: who if he had not spared the truthe at his last
beinge with your Honour, I am perswaded you wold
have spared his commendations unto me; not because
I am not willinge to obay your commandment ether
herein or in any other matter, but because I presume,
of your justice and wysedome, that you wold not
willingly defend any such.

The whole matter is thus, as at all tymes I ever founde him very tumultuous and disobedient, so a litle before his repayre to your Honoure, a pykery^a being committed amongst my scholares, and the suspicion falling vehemently upon him (besyde his owne confession) I happened to chalenge him for the same; but he choesinge rather to be expelled, as he sayde, then corrected for his falt, dreue his knyfe at me which he had for the purpose provided, and standinge at ward agaynst me and our Subwarden, shoed such an example of stubbernesse to my scholars as theis twenty yeares I have not hard the lyke. Notwithstandinge being apprehended and punished for this disorder, the same day he departed the College without licence, but with such a threatninge stomach, bye report, as that I was advertysed by my frendes to beware of his secrete malice. The next tyme I sawe him, he brought your Honoures Letters; upon the sight whereof I received him agayne, though I perceived he had glosed^b altogether with you. Synce that tyme hitherto, he hath continued in suche overthwartness, as (were it not for your Honoures sake) nether I nor the College cold beare him. That which we doe in sufferinge his evell rule, I feare will prove to the animating of others farder then good order can abyde. This I beseke your honoure consyder of, and pardon me if towarde such I

^a a pillage.

^b glossed, palliated by exposition.

discharge my vocation. From the College by Winchester, the xvijth. of Maie.

Your honoures most due
to commande

CHRISTOFER JONSON.

To the right honorable sir
Wylliam Cecill knight, principall
secretarye to her Grace.

LETTER CLXXXII.

*Sir Thomas Gresham to Sir William Cecil, upon the
prolongation of the Queen's debt, at Twelve per
Cent.*

[MS. LANSD. num. X. art. 72. Orig.]

* * * This and the next Letter throw light upon the greater money transactions of the time of Queen Elizabeth, in the hand-writing of the chief merchant of her reign. Sir Thomas Gresham appears to have stipulated regularly for all who advanced loans under his guarantee to be released from the Statute of Usury. The ordinary rate of Interest under the Statute of the 37th Hen. VIIIth. c. 9. was at this time fixed at 10% per cent. Queen Elizabeth confirmed it with the addition of some severe clauses in her 13th year. The statute of the 21st James Ist. c. 17. reduced interest to eight per cent. During the Usurpation and in Charles the Second's time it fell to six per cent. and lastly by the Statute of the 12th Ann. st. 2. c. 16. was reduced to five per cent.

RIGHT honorable Sr. it maie like youe t^eunderstande
that as this daie at x. of the clocke in the foore none I

received yours of the xxvjth. and xxviiijth. And herewith it maie please youe to receyve the note of the prolongation of the Queenes Ma^{ty} debts for the makinge of the new Bonds. Other I have not to molest yo^r Honnor withall, but that by th'order of yo^r steward Billet I have writen to Cloughe by this Poste for xv m. slatte and iij m. borde, to be sent from Andwarpe by the next shippe that comith, most humblye besechinge youe if there be anny other thinge I maie stande youe in steade, and specially for the love of monneye, I praie youe of all frendshipe to use no man but me. As towchinge the Q. Ma^{ty} warraunte for the prolonging of her debte, it maie please you to make it as to youe shall thinke good, so that I do not excede th'interest of xij. per cent by the yeare, which I will assure yo^r Honnor is verie good chepe monneye as the world goeth there nowe. As knowith the Lord who preserve youe with increse of honnor. From London the xxixth. of August anno domini 1568.

I sent yo^r Lettre to my Ladie
Hobby by my footman upon
the receipt therof.

At yo^r honnors commaundment

THOMAS GRESHAM.

To the right honorable S^r. Wil-
liam Cecill knight The Queene's
Ma^{ty}. principall Secretary.

LETTER CLXXXIII.

*Sir Thomas Gresham to Sir William Cecil, again
upon money lent to the Queen.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE, 12. art. 8. Orig.]

RIGHT honorable Sir, this morning I have receaved yours with my lettres by my servaunt, wherbie I do perceyve that the monney whiche remainith in my handes of sir William Garrard, and for the armur; must be paid to the merchauntes. Wherin I shall proceede with paiment of half there somes untill further your pleasor be knowen; for the whiche it maie please you to send me the Quenes Majesties Warraunt. And wheras your Honnor doth now thinke som difficulte to paie anny monney to the Quenes Majesties creditors beyond the seas, Sir in my opinion you neede not to make any dowl therof, yf her Highnes do see her merchauntes well paid here in London this first some, for bie that time the other monney shalbe payable hear bie the Quenes Majestie to her said merchauntes, they shall have both plenty of monney at Hamborough and heare. Assuring you the goodes that our merchauntes hathe shipped from Hambrough hither is well worth

c. M^l. li. and better. And the shiping that they make now from hens with our comodities is richely worthe ij c. M^l. li. and better for that there wilbe above xxx M^l. Clothes the custom wherof wilbe worth to the Quenes Majestie at the least x M^l. whiche will discharg that debt if it stand so with the Quenes Majesties pleasor. Sir, I do perceyve the gretest care that you have is that our merchauntes shall not have monney enoughe for to by up our commodities, wherin you neede not to dowbt considering the good vent they have had at Hamborough alredie, and are like to have. Therefore I shall most humblie beseche you for the staie and advauncing of the Quenes Majesties credit, this smal paiment that is agreed upon alredy at Hamborough maie be paid: considering that I have writen heretofore to the said creditores they should have a paiment made there now this August, whiche paiment will not a litle advaunce her Highnes honnor and credit. And how muche her Highnes credit hathe stand her in steede beyond the Seas, for reddie monneye, it is to tedious and to long a matter to trowble you withall. But if my credit were suche, that I were able to perswade the Quenes Majestie and you, I would have that matter now sorowid for above all other thinges: assuring you Sir I do know for certain that the Duke de Alva is more trowblid with the Quenes Majesties gret credit, and with the vent of her Highnes commo-

dities at Hamborough, then he is with anny thing els, (and quaketh for feare) whiche is one of the chifest thinges, that is the let that the said Duke cannot com by the tenth penny that he now demandeth for the sale of all goodes anney kind of waye in the Low Countrey (whiche Sir I beleve wilbe his utter undoing). Therfore Sir, to conclude, I would wisshe that the Quenes Majestie in this time shuld not use any strangers, but her own subjectes, wherbie he and all other Princes maie se what a Prince of power she ys. And bie this meanes there is no dowbt but that her Highnes shall cause the duke of Alva to know him self, and to make what end with that Low Countreys as her Majestie will her self, what brute soever is here spredde abroad to the contrary. Sir seing I am entrid so farre with yowe for the credit of the Quenes Majestie beyond the seas, wherin I have travailed this xx. yeres and bie experience in using our owne merchantes I found gret honnor to the Prince (as also gret profit to the merchantes) and to the whole Realm, whatsoever our merchauntes saye to the contrarye. For when our Prince ought ovr merchauntes lx or iiij^{xx} m^l li. then they knew them selves, and were daily reddie to serve as good chepe as straungers did, whiche Sir I would wissh again in this time of extremity to be usid, for that I know our merchauntes be able to do yt, because the debt is devided into many mennes

handes, and bie no meanes cannot hinder them having interest. Other I have not to molest you withall but that as the n. of this present Mr. Bennedik Spinola brought home to my howse a merchaunt of Jauva calid Thomas Ragio to take his leave of me to know if he could plesor me with anny thing in Flaunderes, and as I thanked him, so emong other communication of profit and for service by him ministrid, he desired me to be his frind for suche monney as the Quenes Majestie hathe of his in the Towr; with that I asked him what his som was and he said xx or xxx m^l ducates; but by talke I perceive he hathe muche more with other of his frindes. Now Sir seing this monney in the Towr doth appertain to merchauntes, I would wishe the Quenes Majestie to put it to use of som profit, as to mynt hit into her own coyne. Wherby she shalbe a gayner iij or iiij m^l li. and enriche her Relm with so muche fine silver. And for the repaiment therof, her Highnes maie paie it bie the waie of exchaung or otherwise to her gret fardell and profit. As also her Majestie maie take it up of the said merchantes upon intrest uppon the bandes accustomed for a yere or twoo, whiche I think they wilbee right glad of, and so with the said monney her Majestie maie paie her debtes both hear and in Flaunderes, to the gret honnor and credit of her Majestie throughout all Christendom; as knowith the Lord who preserve you with the in-

crease of honor. From Gresham howse the 14th of August 1569, at ix of the cloke at night.

At your honnors commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

Sir I most humbly thancke you for the remembrans that you have of my sewte for my lady Mary Grey and for my lande at Meserley.

To the right honorable Sir
William Cecill knight, the
Quenes Majesties principall
Secretary.

AFTER this last Letter follow, in the Lansdowne Manuscript, Notes of the Sums of money taken up in London in November and December 1569, by Sir Thomas Gresham, for a six months' day of payment; with a note of the prolongation of the Queen's Majesty's debts due in the City of London the last day of May A. D. 1570, and prolonged until the last day of November, 1570. Each sum at a brokerage of one per Cent, and six per Cent interest for six months. The lenders were principally aldermen of London; though the Lady Joane Laxton widow occurs more than once. Sir Thomas Gresham signs the schedules. At the end of the first he writes, "It may like your Honor to understand that to every one of these bondes the Queen's Majesty must give out her accustomed bonds *for the discharging of the STATUTE of USURIES*, which I would wish might be presently set at liberty if it were possible for the better accomplishing of her Highness enterprise. THOMAS GRESHAM." At the end of another Schedule he says, "Sir to every one of these bonds there must be made Her Majesty's bond for the discharge of the Statute of Usury, as heretofore they have had the like, which is now of no force, because the time and date is expired."

The Lansdowne MS. 113. *art.* 19. contains "A Note of the sums of money that came into the hands of M^r. Thomas Gresham and passed from him, in the time of Queen Mary."

LETTER CLXXXIV.

The Lady Stanhope to Sir William Cecil, for his counsel to Mr. Hotham who had married her daughter, and through jealousy wished to divorce her.

[MS. LANSDOWNE 12. art. 1. Orig.]

* * This and the two succeeding Letters, whilst they present the details of a family quarrel, materially illustrate the Grievance of **WARD-SHIP**, a prerogative which Michele has already accurately defined in a former page; and which, as Blackstone acknowledges, was one of the greatest hardships of our ancient tenures.

Lady Stanhope, the widow of Sir Michael Stanhope of Shelford, in Nottinghamshire, had obtained *by purchase* the wardship of a Hotham, had married her daughter to him, and found, too late, that whatever might be the advantages of property, her daughter had gained little of affection in the union.

A Scheme was proposed to Queen Elizabeth, somewhere about the year 1570 by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a projector of some talent in his day, for the setting up an Academy in London, chiefly for *the education of HER MAJESTY'S WARDS*, the prefatory portion of which applies directly to the circumstances named in Lady Stanhope's letters. He says, "Forasmuch as (most excellent Sovereign) the most part of noble-men and gentlemen that happen to be your Majesty's Wards, the custody of their bodies being of bounty granted to some in reward of service or otherwise, not without your honorable confidence of their good education, yet nevertheless most commonly by such to whom they are committed, or by those to whom such committees **HAVE SOLD them**, being either of evil religion or insufficient qualities, are through the defaults of their guardians for the most part brought up, to no small grief of their friends, in idleness and lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable virtues to their Prince and Country, obscurely drowned in education for sparing charges of purpose to abuse their minds, least, being better qualified, *they should disdain to stoop to the marriage of SUCH PURCHASER'S DAUGHTERS.*"

It is by no means intended in these remarks to fling any imputation

upon Lady Stanhope, for, according to her own statement she took pains to place Mr. Hotham in Lord Burghley's family; to be retained in which, was at that time considered fortunate even for the young nobility. The facts, however, in Lady Stanhope's Letters, joined with the allegations in Sir Humphry Gilbert's Proposal, show what was the condition of wards, and that among the improvements of our national policy few have been more truly beneficial to the common subject, than the change which took place in the time of Charles the Second in the guardianship of Orphans.

Mr. Hotham mentioned in these Letters was John, afterwards Sir John Hotham of Scarborough, who was high-sheriff of Yorkshire in 1584. Juliana, the daughter of Sir Michael Stanhope, was his first wife, and bore to him three daughters, Elizabeth, Jane, and Juliana, who all died without issue. Lady Stanhope, his mother-in-law, the writer of these Letters, was Anne daughter of Nicholas Rawson, Esq. of Audley in the county of Essex.

RIGHT honorable, my humble dewtie premised, it may please yow to be advertised that I am at this present driven to write unto yow, as to one at whose handes, if I have not frindlie helpe, I am like in short time to bring my old dayes with sorow unto my grave; for alas how unhappie a woman am I, that having ever sins the death of Mr. Stanhope imployed my hole tyme, and that litle that God left me for the setting forwardes and advauncement of my children, should now in my elder yeres have any of them turned home to me with misery and shame. Woe be to that unluckye hower that I first delt, at the earnest desir of himselfe, to buy the wardship of that unkind gentleman my sonne (if he were worthy of the name of a sonne) Hotham. I sought his good by all meanes possible, I

preferred him to your service, for the which he was so long the better, as while he remembred the vertuous education, in honest life and good religion, he received with yow ; but sens, for theis foure yeres, he is so geven over to his owne will, as he forgetteth God, abuseth his owne body with evill company, and which is the frutes therof, hathe, of long tyme, upon a hatred conceived of my daughter his wiffe, evill intreated & in sundry sort slaundred her ; and now lastlie confederat with a naughty pack which he kepeth in his house, who served her as her woman, hathe made a traine to have colour to sclaunder his saide wiffe, sent her away, and caused his servauntes to leve her at my sister Bevercotsis, as it were to the wide world ; and sins seweth to be divorced from her, to the end to mary the said wicked woman. O Lord ! Sir, I pray yowe, thinke what discomfort it was to me to receive her in that sort, but how much more grief it is to my hart to heare the sundry sclaunders he hath most untrulie bruted & blasted of her, and how can I live to se him worke his tirannous will against her by the way of divorce, especiallie in Yorkshire, where he may suborne men & women to say what he listeth to serve his develishe purpose, I beseech yow Sir even for the frindship I have ever reposed in yow, stretch forth now your helping hand to me & my daughter in this our misery, & not ours onlie, but a blott & rebuke to my hole

kinred & frindes. The case how it standeth, this bearer my sonne, Edward Stanhope, shall report unto yow, as we receive it of her, & otherwise aswell by the report of servauntes as his owne; & other her bretherins knowledge of his usages hertofore, as also by good & evident presumptions, which if it be trew, Justice requireth she should not be oppressed, and thoughte I know yow are not in this case a Judge, yet how hardely the unbrideled rage of a husband that is disposed to spoile his house, & undone himselfe may be stayed by the wiffe that is left penyless to defend her cause, onles she hath the ayde of some good frindes, I trust yow will for alliaunce & frindship sake judge. For alas Sir I am not able (onles I should undoe myselve and my children, that be yet unprovided for) to wade in defence of her cause by lawe; and besides the world is geven to condempne the woman where any sute of divorce is made; I therfore humblie beseache yow lett the auctorytie that you have had over him whilst he served yow extend thus farr, as it will please yow to call him before yow, and by your frindlie wisdoms so govern his unstayednes, as if it may be, they may live together in the feare of God which with all my hart I do wishe. But if the rage of his jelous hed be such as he cannot yet content himselfe so to do, then it may please yow to order it so, that she may, having some allowaunce, live with her frindes, and I

will do the part of a mother to frame her to devise by all good and godlie meanes possible to recover him to that contentacion which should be their greatest comfort. All which referring to your good government, with my most hartie comendacions to my good Lady, I humblie leve yow, being somewhat stayed with the assured hope we have of your frindlie dealinge in this behalfe. And so with my dew comendacions to my good Lady, I humblie leve you to the Almightye. Shelford this vij th of Aprill 1569.

Your honors most humblie bound,

ANNE STANHOPE.

To the right honorable Sir William
Cycill knight, chief Secretarie to the
Quenes most excellent Majestie, & one
of her Highnes most honorable Privye
Councell.

LETTER CLXXXV.

*John Hotham to Sir William Cecil, requesting to be
excused from appearing before him.*

[MS. LANSD. 12. art. 93. Orig.]

MAY it pleas your Honor that wheras I have resavid
your Lettre wherin your Honor willethe me to repare

unto yow to be orderyd towchinge th'occasions of my wyffe. Thes may be most humblie to dessire your Honore that waye to hold me excusede. For as much as in thes affayres (your Honor not offendid) I am fullie resolvid never to order that abuse but as the Lawe will therin determyne, as ryghtlie moved therunto by the truthe of my cause, as also thorowe the Stanhope's eville delinge many wayes with me. At this instant I am boythe unfurnyshed of horse and mony for such a suddeyne Jorney, havinge so lyttle warnynge as Edward Stanhope haithe geven me to provid my wants; the which consideryd, I trust your Honor will taik myne absence in good part. Further it meight not all to gethere be without danger, by meane of a bound that the Stanhope's have agenst me, in whos curtesie I nethar have nor will none affiance. I beseche your Honor in resspekt of my bounden dewtie unto yow, nethar urge me to th'inconvenience that myne Adversaries requier, nor forget what shame by the bringinge my wyfe and me together your Honor meight heape to me your sarvante, the which I hope your Honor will not, althio the perswacions of the contrarie be never so importunate. Trewe it is I rest hollye at your Honor's comandement duringe my lyfe; but in this case onlie I humbly trust your Honor will pardone my boldnes in delinge playnly lyke myne intencion. Humbly my service remembred I wyshe

yow thⁱncrease of honor that your hart desyrethe.
From Skorbrowghe the 15 of Aprill A^o. 1570.

Your Honor's humble Servant
at comaundement,

JOHN HOTHAM.

To the right honorable S^r William
Cecylle knyght, M^r. of the Wards and
Lyveries, Secretorie to the Quenes
Majestie, and of her Heyghnes most
honorable Counsell at the Court, geve
thes.

LETTER CLXXXVI.

*Lady Stanhope to Sir William Cecil, to bring the
business between Hotham and her daughter to a
good end.*

[MS. LANSDOWNE 12. art. 76. Orig.]

SIR, It is my very hard fortune to live to this day
to have one of my daughters with reproche turned
home unto me, & muche harder had it ben for her if
I had not now lived, being as she was turned to the
wide worlde to seke relieffe. And thoughe I thoughte
yow could not be voide of many troubles, yet had I
divers occasions to move me to trouble you also; to

take some order betwixt her husband and her. I perceive hitherto he hathe not onlie litle regarded your favourable dealing with him in this matter, but turnes the delay alltogether to my daughters sclaunder, what with reporting sundry untruthes of her in all places where he comes, & causing the meanest that is towards him to do the like. I trust it is all untrew that he hathe charged her with to yow, & to others, but it is manifest that many of his reportes be utterlie against trouthe. In the meane while I am greatlie burdened to kepe his wiffe who seketh the defacing of me and mine. And were it not that God dothe reveale his and his womans evill intentes against my daughter, in that he hathe had a child by her begotten as it should seme about that very time, he hathe already layed that blott of my daughter which she should hardlie ever wype of. At my sonne Edward Stanhopes deliverye to him of your honors last letters, he saide he would not come onles he might be assured not to be arrested for debt which he oweth me, which advauntage I was content to refuse, though he the debt hathe ben long dew, because I would not be a hinderer of your good motion, wherupon he promised to come. I pray yow therfore Sir, either make some good end therof, or if the default be in him as the delaye hathe ben hitherto to my great charge, howsoever we deale with him, yet suffer him not so muche to abuse your gentlenes. What els resteth to be done, I referr it to your wise consider-

acion. I am further to geve you humble thankes that upon a motion made from me by word by Edward Stanhope afore Christmas, that I mought have the graunt of my sonne Coopers sonnes wardship, if he, being yet sicklie should dye, yow promised it to me; I am the glader therof for that I knowe some would seke it rather for gaine sake then meaning good education to the child. I trust the father shall live and do well, and if he do not, I hope my daughter and I shall so deale in his education as you shall like well of the disposing of him. And yet I rest most bound unto you for the same. And so I humblie leve you to the Almightye. Thurgarton this last of Marche, 1570.

Your honors most humble
bounde kinswoman,

ANNE STANHOPE.

To the right honorable Sir William Cicill knight, chiefe Secretary to the Quenes most excellent Majestie, & one of her Highnes most honorable Privy Councell.

LETTER CLXXXVII.

Sir Ralph Sadler to Lord Burghley concerning the manner in which the Queen of Scots received the news of the Duke of Norfolk's condemnation.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. III. fol. 194. Orig.]

* * * From this Letter it should seem that Sir Ralph Sadler took charge of the Queen of Scots while Lord Shrewsbury went to Norfolk's arraignment.

PLEASE it your Lordship

The postes whether they worke or play have their hyre, and therforr I spare not their labour though I have none other occasion then to advertise your L. that all is well here concerning this charge, and that yesterday I receyvid your letters of the 17th of this present (for the which I most hertely thanke your L.) together with a brieve discourse of the Dukes arraignment and condempnacion, which I fourthwith impartid unto my lady of Shrewsbury to the ende she might take occasion to make this Queen understande of the same; and also I gave it out to the gentilmen in this House both what nomber of the Nobiltee did passe upon his tryall, and also that his offences and treasons were suche and so manyfestly and playnely provid, that all the noble men did not onely detest the same, but also without

any manner of scruple objected, by comen consent every of them did pronounce him giltye. Which, being put abroad here in the House after this sort, was brought unto the knowledge of this Queen by som of her folkes which harde it, before my Lady cam unto her, for the which this Queen wept very bitterly, so that my lady founde her all to be wept and mourning, and asking her what she ayled she answered that she was sure my lady coulde not be ignorant of the cause, and that she coulde not but be moche greved, to understand of the trouble of her frendes, which she knew well did fare the worse for her sake, for sure she was that the Duke fared the worse for that which she of late had written to the Q. Majestie; and sayid further that he was unjustly condempnid, protesting that as farre as ever she coulde perceyve by him or for any thing she knew he was a trew man to the Queen her sister: but being answered by my lady that as she might be sure that whatsoever she had written to the Q. Majestie coulde do the duke neither good nor harme touching his condempnacion, so if his offences and treasons had not ben grete and playnely proved ayenst him, those noble men which passed upon his tryall wolde not for all the good on erth have condempnéd him. She therupon with mourning there becam silent, and had no will to talke any more of the matier, and so lyke a trew lover she remayneth still mourning for her love. God I trust will put it into the Queen's Majesties hart so to provide

for her self that such trew lovers may receyve suche rewardes and frutes of their love as they have justly deserved at her Majesties handes.

All the last weke this Queen did not ones loke out of her chamber, hering that the D. stode upon his arraignment and tryall, and being troubled by all likelihod with a giltie conscience and feare to heare of suche newes as now she hathe receyved. And my presence is suche a trouble unto her that ones she com out of her chamber I com litle at her, but my lady is seldom from her, and for my parte I have not syns my comyng hither so behaved meself towards her as might justly give her occasion to have any such mislyking of me; though in dede I wolde not rejoyse at all of it, if she had any better lyking. But though she lyke not of me yet I am sure that this good lady and all the gentilmen and others of this house do lyke well ynough of me; which doth well appere by their curteous and gentill enterteignement of me and myn. My lorde hathe a costly ghest of me, for I and my men and xxxvj. horses of myn do all lye and feede here at his charge, and therfore the soner he come home the better for him. Trusting his L. be now on the way, and therfor I forbere to write unto him. But if he be there, it may please you to tell him that all is well here, and that my Lady and I do long to see his L. here. And as I doubt not she wolde most gladly have him here, so I am sure she can not long for him more then

I do, loking howerly to here som good newes from
your L. of my retourne. And so I beseche Almightye
God to preserve and kepe you in long lif and helth,
and to increase you in honour and vertue. From
Sheffelde Castell the xxj* of Januarie at night 1571.
with the rude hande of

Your L. to commaunde as your
owne

R. SADLEIR.

To the right honourable and
my very good lord, my Lord of
Burghley, of the Queens Majes-
ties Pryvy counsell.

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

*Margaret Countess of Lenox and Angus, to Sir Wil-
liam Cecil, justifying herself and her Lord from
false rumors.*

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 22. Orig.]

* * Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1578, says, "Much about this time Margaret Douglas Countess of Lenox, niece to King Henry the Eighth by his eldest sister, widow of Matthew Earl of Lenox, and grandmother to James King of Great Britain, having survived eight children which she had been mother of, passed to her heavenly country in her climacterical year; and was buried at Westminster with a stately funeral at the Queen's charges. She was a matron of singular piety, patience, and modesty; who was thrice cast into the Tower (as I have heard her say herself) not for any crime of

treason, but for love matters; first, when Thomas Howard, son of Thomas Howard the first Duke of Norfolk of that name, falling in love with her, died in the Tower of London; then for the love of Henry Lord Darnley, her son, to Mary Queen of Scots; and lastly, for the love of Charles her younger son to Elizabeth Cavendish, mother to the Lady Arabella, with whom the Queen of Scots was accused to have made up the match."*

The precise date of the Letter here before the reader does not appear. It was certainly written before 1572, when Matthew Earl of Lenox died. It shows the effect which even the gossip of the Court had upon the mind of Queen Elizabeth; the Countess, at a considerable distance of time, being obliged to defend both herself and her husband against the false rumor that they had recommended in the previous Reign the imprisonment of Elizabeth in the Tower.

There is another Letter of the Countess in the Cottonian Collection written rather earlier, apparently in 1569, which, as it has been omitted in its chronological order, shall be given here in the smaller type. This also is a curious Letter, inasmuch as it exhibits her and her husband in so reduced a state of fortune that she had "been forced to lay her jewels in gage for money to bear the ordinary charges of their house;" yet anxious to have the guardianship of their grandson the Scottish King. It is as follows:

"After my moste hartye comendacions to yow, good Mr. Secretorye, I doubte not but partely yow do knowe howe manye sorowfull greyfes I have passed. I thanke God of all. Besydes this late chaunce that hathe hapned by the death of the Lorde Regent of Scotlande, being not one of the leaste, but cheiflye yt towcheth me nearest to see my L. my husbonde, who and I have been togethers this xxvj yeres, fall into suche an extreme hevynes, being very evell at ease sence theis discomfortable newes of Scotlande came; so that if he contynewe anye tyme in the same I feare he can not longe indure, his inwarde greif is suche; and I not able by anye meane to comforte him, sayenge that onles God of his greate mercye and pyttye put to his helping hande, he seeth playnelye the distruction of that lytle innocent King nere at hande; wyschinge of God that before that daye shoulde come, seing that he cannot be suffred to be there in place, and nowe in tyme of nede to have bene a helper and a strengthynge to that saide innocent Kinge agaynste his ennemyes, that God wolde take him oute of this miserable lyfe. The two pryncypall causes that cheiflye greveth and feareth my Lord is, that the pryncypall ennemyes of the saide Kinge, and gyltye of his father deathe, as he is informed, arre put

* Hist. Eliz. p. 237.

to libertie; and he being the groundfather, to his greates greif absent from hym who of right must nedes have bene the cheifest pyllor and strengthe to the saide king in that Realme. My L. sayeth further that he thinketh two causes hathe bene and is the let of his goenge thither, the one for religions cause, and the other for bearing of rule, which if he had bene suffred to have gone, he wolde have put all that hathe suche an opynyon of him oute of that error. As for Religion yt shoulde never have fayred the worse for hym, but rather the better; And for bearing of rule there as a Regent or Gouernor, his mynde was never so to do, nor to have trobled him self withall, being of the yeres which he is of; but to have been an assystaunt to suche noble men as the Quenes Majestie here, and the State there, shoulde have thought meete to have taken the government of that realme: and my saide L. to have had but onely the keping of the saide kinges person, and the noble man that is in possession thereof alredye to have joyned with him, and this shoulde the Quenes Majestie have had good prooffe of his good servyce bothe to the Kinge and State there, and also to the Quenes Majestie here, or yt had bene longe. But he saith that seing he can not perceyve that her Highnes is willinge that he go into that realme, his moste humble sute unto her Majestie is, to be a meane that the saide King may be brought into this her Highnes Realme, and so to be noryshed here under her Majesties protection and keping, for the better safetie of his person, wherein he moste hartelye desiereth yow to be a meane unto her Majestie for. Otherwyse my L. moste humblye craveth and besecheth her Majestie, for Godes cause, to be a meane that the saide Kinge may be delivered into his handes, and with her Majesties favour he may departe with him to some forrayne Countrey, for the safetie of the lyttle Innocent; otherwayes whosoever bere aucthorytie in that Realme, and so longe as he taryeth within the same, he maketh no accompte of that yonge Innocentes lyfe. My L. saith that he dothe not blame her Majestie of his stay here, for he knoweth right well yt is not longe of her Highnes, knoweing the godlye and good nature her Majestie is of, but suche as have bene there longe tyme; his back fryndes; not having deserved yt at theire handes: wysHINGE of God that they may meane as trewlye and fathfullye towardes her Majestie as he doth.

“ Now good M^r. Secretorye after I have made the discourse of this my greif unto yow, as touching my L. And although her Majestie were willinge, that he shoulde go into Scotlande, and in healtie and strengthe of bodye as presentelye he is not yet in, I can not see howe his purse can be able to take that chargeable jorney in hande; being in suche poore state as presentelye we arre, for latelye I have bene forced to laye my jewelles in gage for money to bere the ordynarye charges of our House. Thus leavinge to trouble yow anye further I comytt yow good M^r. Secre-

torye to Godes holye protection. From the Quenes Majesties House of
Somerset place this Candelmes daye,

Your asured loveyng frend

MARGARET COUNTESS."^a

Good mester Sekretory y have reseved your ansuer by my man Fowler upon the Quens words to you, wharby yt apyareth Her Majesty hath byn informyd and doth credyd the same that y in tyme of her Highnes trobyll in Quen Marys rayne shold be rather a mene to agment the same then demynishe yt, in putyng then in the Quens hed that yt was a quyetnes for the teme to hawe her shut up &c. Mester Sekretory none on lyve ys able to justify thys false and ontru report of me made among others the lyke, as therin y will be sworne yf y were put to yt, that never in all my lyfe y had or ment to hawe eny sych words with Quen Mary tochyng the Quens Majesty; nor y for my part bare no syche stroke to geve eny advyce in eny sych weyghty matter. But what shold y say even as my Lord and y undeservyd hath had extremety showd upon the informasyons most ontruly geven unto the Quen's Majesty of ows so late, y for no other but the continuance therof as long as Her Hyghnes doth hyre^b and credyt the furst tale without profe to be tryed, and as yt apperethe dyscredytethe my answers eny way made to the contrary how tru soever they be;

^a MS. Cotton. Calig. C. 1. fol. 376.

^b hear.

but yf my Lord and Y myght fynde the Quens Majesty so good and grasyous onto ows as to hyre owr accusers and ows fase to fase y wold then be owt of dowt to fynd shortly sum part of Her Hyghnes favor agen wych y shall beseche you to be a mene for, and to partysepat the contentes of thys my letter to her Majesty, in wych dowyng ye geve me occasyon to be redy to requit the same as my power shall extend, and so with my harty comendasyons I bed you lykwyse farwell. From Sheathys the second of Octobre

Your assuryd fr. to
my power

MARGARET LENNOX *and* ANGUS.

To my very frend Sir Wyllam
Cycell knyght chefe Secretary to
the Quens Ma^{tie}. Master of the
Wards, and on of her Hyghnes
most honorable Prevy Councell.

LORD Burghley made a memorandum that Lady Margaret Lenox died at Hackney in 1577. See Murdin, p. 542. It was upon account of her dying in debt that the Queen paid the expenses of her funeral. See the Harleian MS. 289. fol. 198 b.

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END OF VOL. II.

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